

# The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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## The Revolution.

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### Poetry.

#### THE LAND O' THE LEAL.

I'm wearing awa', Jean,  
Like snaw when its thaw, Jean,  
I'm wearing awa'  
To the land o' the leal.  
There's nae sorrow there, Jean,  
There's neither could nor care, Jean,  
The day is aye fair  
In the land o' the leal.

Ye were aye leal and true, Jean,  
Your task's ended noo, Jean,  
And I'll welcome you  
To the land o' the leal.  
Our bonnie bairn's there, Jean,  
She was bathed guid and fair, Jean,  
O we grudged her right sair  
To the land o' the leal!

Then dry that tearfu' e'e, Jean,  
My soul longs to be free, Jean,  
And angels wait on me  
To the land o' the leal.  
Now fare ye weel, my ain Jean,  
This world's care is vain, Jean;  
We'll meet and aye be fa'n  
In the land o' the leal.

LADY CATHERINE NAIKEN.

#### A DITTY.

My true love hath my heart, and I have his,  
By just exchange one for another given;  
I hold his dear, and mine he cannot miss:  
There never was a better bargain driven.  
My true love hath my heart, and I have his.

His heart in me keeps him and me in one;  
My heart in him his thoughts and senses guide;  
He loves my heart, for once it was his own;  
I cherished his, because in me it bides.  
My true love hath my heart, and I have his.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

Is this improvement, where the human breed  
Degrades as they swarm and overflow,  
Till toll grows cheaper than the trodden weed,  
And man competes with man, like foe to foe,  
Till death that thins them scarce seems public woe?  
CAMPBELL.

DREAD to the poor the least suspense of health—  
Their hands their friends, their labor all their wealth;  
Let the wheel rest from toll a single sun,  
And all the humble creak-work is undone;  
The custom lost, the drain upon the board,  
The debt that sweeps the fragment from the board—  
How mark the hunger round thee and be brave—  
Foresee thy orphan, and not fear the slave?  
FULTON.

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

DETROIT, Nov. 22d, 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION: The storms make havoc of my engagements. Could not reach Saginaw or Marshall, and only just saved myself at Toledo, going directly from the cars, at half past eight, before the audience, with the dust of twenty-four hours' travel on my brow and garments. For whose convenience the trains are planned in this region, it is difficult to say, as they never come or go with the slightest reference to each other, leaving the unhappy traveler hours of weary waiting in crowded, dirty depots, filled with crying babies, apple peelings and pea-nut shells.

Not being able to reach Saginaw, I went straight to Ann Arbor, and spent three days most pleasantly in visiting old friends, making new ones, and surveying the town, with its grand University. Took an excellent Thanksgiving dinner at the home of Mr. Seaman, a highly cultivated Democratic editor, author of the "Progress of Nations." A choice number of brilliant ladies and gentlemen gathered round his hospitable board on that occasion, over which his charming wife presided with dignity and grace. Woman's Suffrage was the target for the combined wit and satire of the company, and, after four hours of uninterrupted sharp shooting, pyrotechnics and laughter, we dispersed to our several abodes, fairly exhausted with the excess of enjoyment.

One gentleman had the moral hardihood to assert that men had more endurance than women, whereupon a lady remarked that she would like to see the 1,300 young men in the University laced up in steel ribbed corsets, with hoops, heavy skirts, trails, high heels, paniers, chignons and dozens of hair-pins sticking in their scalps, cooped up in the nouse year after year, with no exhilarating exercise, no hopes, aims, nor ambitions in life, and see if they could stand it as well as the girls. Nothing, said she, but the fact that women, like cats, have nine lives, enables them to survive the present regime to which custom dooms the sex.

On Friday evening, I gave my lecture on "Our Young Girls," in the new Methodist church; a large, elegant building, well lighted, and filled with a brilliant audience of brave men and fair women. The students, in large numbers, were there and strengthened the threads of my discourse with frequent and generous applause, especially when I urged on the Regents of the University the duty of opening their doors to the daughters of the State. There are several splendid girls in Michigan preparing themselves for admission to the law department. As Judge Cooley, one of the Professors, is a very liberal, humane man, as well as a sound lawyer, and strongly in favor of opening the college to girls, I have no doubt the women of Michigan will be the first to distinguish themselves at the bar. Some one said, the chief difficulty in the way of the

girls to-day is the want of room. That could easily be obviated by telling the young gentlemen from abroad to betake themselves to the colleges in their respective states, that Michigan may educate her daughters. As the women own a good share of the property of the State, and have been heavily taxed to build and endow this institution, it is but fair that they should share in its advantages.

The Michigan University, with its extensive grounds, commodious buildings, medical and law schools, Professors residences, and the finest laboratory in the country, is an institution of which that State may well be proud, and as the tuition is free, it would be worth the trouble of a long, hard siege by the girls of Michigan to gain admittance there. I advise them to organize their forces at once; get their minnie guns, battering-rams, monitors, projectiles, bombshells, cannon, torpedoes and fire-crackers ready, and keep up a brisk cannonading until the grave and reverend seigniors open the door, and the boys simultaneously shout, "hold, enough."

The ladies of Ann Arbor have a fine library of their own, where their clubs meet once a week. They have just formed a Suffrage Association of which Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Kellogg, Mrs. Sayer and Mrs. Seaman are the leaders. My visit ended with a pleasant reception at Mr. Donald McIntyre's, where I was introduced to Chaplin Day, wife and daughter, several professors and students of the University, and many ladies and gentlemen ready to accept the situation. Judge Cooley gave me a glowing account of the laws of Michigan—how easy it was for wives to get possession of all the property, and then under the marriage tie and leave the poor husbands to the charity of the cold world, with their helpless children about them. I heard of a rich lady here who made a will giving her husband a handsome annuity as long as he remained her widower. It is evident that the poor "white male," sooner or later, is doomed to try for himself the virtue of the laws he has made for woman. I hope, for the sake of the race, he will not bear oppression with the stupid fortitude we have for 6,000 years.

At Flint I was hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Jenny. Mr. Jenny is a Democratic editor who believes in progress, and in making smoother paths for women in this great wilderness of life. His wife is a very remarkable woman. She inaugurated the Ladies' Libraries in Michigan. In Flint they have a fine brick building and nearly 2,000 volumes of choice books (owned by the Ladies Association) and money always in the treasury. Here, too, I had a fine audience, and gave "Open the Door." Met several of the leading people, among others Mr. Thompson, an Englishman, who has one of the finest libraries in the country, especially his collection of Shakespeare. He has every possible edition—the largest, the smallest, the oldest and the newest, with notes and illustrations, criticisms and commentaries, and a large

collection of fac similes covers of Shakspeare to Queen Elizabeth, and hers to him, Shakspeare's love letters to Ann Hathaway and hers to him. As Mr. Thompson lectures on Shakspeare, and is said to be very eloquent, I hope he will be invited by some of our eastern Lyceums.

Coming from Flint I met Col. Edward Hill, a brave soldier, who led a Michigan regiment all through the late war. He gave me the last *Independent* to read, the first New York paper I had seen for a week. I was much pleased with Theodore Tilton's speech at Father Hyacinthe's dinner. His definition of a lady is capital; lest you may have overlooked it, I enclose it for our readers. You can leave out the laughter and applause, as that will save type:

What, then, is a lady? Herne Tooko, who once chased a lady so far as to hunt her for haremology, I cannot say how much further—write that by unimpeachable Anglo-Saxon derivation a lady is a woman who is "the equal of her lord." Gentlemen, that's the definition for me! Alas! the equal of her lord! Freed not from her duty to him, but freed from her subjection to him. A lady is a wife, equal with a husband; a sister, equal with a brother; a woman, equal with a man. Now, sir, I want to make every woman in this land a lady—a lady not by the obsequious verdict of fashion and society; a lady not by reason of her grand houses and gay attire; a lady not because of her daily photon in Central Park; a lady not merely as the ornamental appendage of a rich man's estate; a lady not even by the nobler title of beautiful manners and cultivated tastes; but a lady in the grand old Anglo-Saxon sense—a lady proven and acknowledged such because she is an equal with her lord—his equal in the family, his equal in society, his equal in the church, his equal in the state—his equal in every rank, in every sphere, in every place. That, sir, is my own idea of a lady. It may differ a little from my friend Mr. Greeley's; but I think time will show mine to be an improvement upon his.

I read, too, Moses C. Tyler's "Fragmentary Manhood," and wondered at the end that Moses made no mention of woman. Does he not know that we have done all we can for man until we bring woman up to his level. The very virtues, he says, man lacks to-day, are precisely those supplied by the feminine element. Man is but half a being, with half an idea on every subject, and must always be fragmentary until he is complemented by a noble, full-developed womanhood.

Not being able to reach Marshall, have passed the day at the Middle House, which is very well kept. Here I have had a pleasant interview with Moses Field, one of the leaders of the working man's movement. He thinks the safety of labor in this country depends on protection and tariffs, and that Free Trade is a snare and delusion. He says this is the general feeling among laboring men. Where are the *World* and the *Evening Post*, that they do not enlighten our working men on their short-sighted policy, and show them that a transient good is often a permanent evil? E. C. S.

## JOAN.

BY ISABELLA GRANT MEREDITH.

As she ran the hot iron over the shirt bosom, imparting the last fine gloss to Mr. Tinker's spotless linen; the while stooping to lend all her strength to the operation, she droned out in intermittent notes:

On the sweet side of Jordan  
In the wide fields of Eden,  
Where the Tree of Life is blooming,  
There is rest for you.

It was a cheerful sentiment, if not a cheerful strain, and let us hope she found it a consoling contrast to the scene of her labor; that small, stifling kitchen, in the steam of whose seething

pies, the glare of whose window windows, buzzed, revelled and swarmed that scorching day, myriads of flies, tormenting the woman whose weary feet practised a tread-mill round there from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.

Nor was there a suspicion of sarcasm in her patient eyes, as passing from the ironing board to the fire, she paused to wipe her flushed face on her apron and glance out across the meadow where the brook flowed among the alders, and under the broad, cool shade of the chestnut trees, Mr. Darby Tinker, who was supposed to shoulder the special curse of earning his bread in the sweat of his brow, reposed at full length, partaking of the dough-nuts and sweetened water which constituted the hay-makers' ten o'clock luncheon.

If she sighed as she went back to her ironing, it was because, even so early, she was inexpressibly weary. At half-past four she had been stirring; not yet rested from yesterday's labor, yet forced to drag her tired limbs from their repose, to rise, build the fire, and cook breakfast for Mr. Tinker and the farm hands. In the interval of boiling, frying and "dishing up," she had found time to dress the children, while Mr. Tinker, poised like the Colossus of Rhodes before the small looking-glass, had leisurely shaved himself. So many irons in the fire worried her, but when Bob hindered her by toddling, like a frisky young colt, about his trundle-bed, refusing to be caught, she uttered no sharp remonstrance, but remembered how, that time last year, he had fretted with nettle-rash and teething, and thought how thankful she ought to be.

That was her way; to remember the one little rift in the cloud, the one blessing among the burdens that so sorely oppressed her, giving to the face, that eight years before had been "sae comelie," the faded, care-worn look, which blights all over-worked women before they reach their meridian.

Last year at hay-time, she had had the plagues of Egypt to contend with; her first-born sick unto death; a drought which obscured the heaven of Mr. Tinker's visage and financial prospects, driving him to seek a questionable solace at the tavern, and to increased indulgence in strong waters, which were waters of bitterness, if not of blood, to her. Bobby, "the baby" then, worrying night and day, refused to leave her; but, with the heavy, fretful child on her arm as she churned, split kindlings, washed potatoes for dinner, or baked a batch of pies, she had the grace of spirit to remember, "The cross would be heavier yet, if God should lighten my arms of Bobby's weight altogether; I don't think I could bear that!" If she once showed signs of losing patience, it was when that plague of flies, swarming and buzzing about her, fretted her long suffering spirit out of its meekness. Then she would drop her iron, with frantic gestures of her arms beat the air vainly, and catching up a fly brush of asparagus, flit it over the shirts that hung airing on the bars.

After breakfast she had gladly dispatched the children to help rake hay in the meadow, with the admonition: "Now, don't you trouble your father, children. Mind Russ and 'Liza, you take good care o' Bobby!"

Then such heaps of greasy dishes to clear away; such a hurry to skim the milk and feed the impatient pigs, to whom she carried heavy pails across the long yard under the broiling sun; such a hurry to get at that ironing, spring-

kled two days ago, impossible to find time for before, impossible to put off longer, although it was Saturday; and there loomed up before her the week's mopping up and the week's mending, already overflowing the great basket in the corner; all of which must be done somehow, after dinner was out of the way.

"Good day, Miss Tinker," said a cheery voice; "awful weather, ain't it?"

The voice belonged to a bright-eyed, buxom woman, who entered the kitchen with pleasant familiarity.

"Why, Alviry! Is it you?" "Take a chair. I wasn't expectin' to see you round to-day."

"I thought's likely. You see, I was sent after in a hurry to come an' make a shroud for Miss Skinner's baby," explained Alviry; "they had to hurry up the funeral, it's such a terrible weather. There's a sight o' sickness about. I watched over to Squire Field's last night. Miss Field's a very sick woman. Family well?"

"We hain't got no time to be anything else, as a general thing; I'm so droyed always, what with the farmin' an' my family, an' one thing 'n another, 't I feel to be thankful if I can manage to keep well till winter, 'tho' summer nor winter I don't have no time to be sick, an' I grudge losin' a day. Somehow, my work is always behind-hand, do what I will! Sometimes I wonder how other women do get along, and sometimes I'm tempted to wonder why there's so much more to do than there's time to do it in! But I don't mean to complain."

"There ain't no use!" said Alviry significantly; "if there was, I'd exercise my vocal organs, I can tell you! Gracious, what peses the flies be! They 'most drive me distracted, a-sliding over my face as if 'twas a skatin' rink."

"Yes, they are bothersome. I've been meaning to get some nets for the winders. I think 't would pay in the long run, it takes so much time to brush them off the ironin', and they do get into the vittles so! But money comes so hard that it goes harder."

"Don't it though? I know all about that! They say 't 'money's the root of all evil,' but I guess if they dug deep enough, they'd find out that the want o' it is the tap-root of wickedness! Thank the Lord, I make what money I spend—though I don't work nigh so hard as you do, Miss Tinker,—and I don't have to look to no man for it. Folks may say what they like about old maids, but we've one advantage—not to say dozens!—over you married women, in havin' no close-fisted man, holdin' on like grim death to the purse-strings, and doling out the mutual property by sixpences, after generously turnin' it all over to you—before witnesses—on your wedding day. That's one reason why I never would get married; I guess I've got a queer streak, for I do resent bein' imposed upon, and, says I, if marriage begins with such a farce, what's it reasonable to expect but farce all the way through? And I warn't a-going to stand up along side any man who'd pretend to endow me with all his worldly possessions, and 's like 't not leave me a widdar, and will away two-thirds on't to some Theological Institute! Humbug and Injun-gifts, I call it! I make what I can by my trade, settin' up watchin' an' makin' shrouds,—and 'tain't nigh so gloomy as you'd suppose!—and then I spend what I please, with nobody to account to for 't."

"I tell you what, Miss Tinker, years ago, when I warn't much bigger than your 'Liza, I see plain, how it worked; I see my mother

...a-frettin' and a-worritin' secretly because of things she couldn't help no more in the man in the room, because tea and coffee are transitory things, and sugar and molasses ain't by no means immortal. Says I, 'Mother, because bags of flour are self-raisin', taint no sign that there's self-restorin' like the widow's cruse, and she'd answer:

"I wish they was, Alviry, so kind o' patient and uncomplainin' 't I always felt reproached for sayin' such things, though it did provoke me that mother should be made to feel as if she was to blame, when any of the groceries was out."

"Father warn't a bad man, at all, 's men go, but he'd got into a way of thinkin' that mother, 'cause she was so economical and fore-handed, could get along without anything, feed and clothe us all on 'most nothing. And he had a way of feelin' that there was more satisfaction in spending the money himself—he had a great name for liberality—but lor! I guess the real generosity counted back to the one who saved it! That's my mind!"

"Mother, she always used to choose the time when we was all at breakfast, to say, 'Father, such a thing is all out.' I used to think she felt that there was strength in numbers! And how plain I can see her thin cheeks flush up, for all she pretended to speak so unconcerned like. Father, 'd never grumble; 'twarn't his way! He'd just say, sharp and short, 'So soon, Miss Peters?' and then he'd be as bleak and nippin' as a November day. It was hard times for us all, and mother, she'd feel so dreadful out up about it!"

"I was a toller'bly sharp child for a girl, and did a sight of thinkin'. I got a kind o' mental dyspepsy those days,—something sot's heavy as lead on my mind. I couldn't digest it no way. I could see that 'twas all wrong. There was mother, now, she did three times the actual work 't father did,—though she was the weaker vessel,—havin' children and practicing half-a-dozen trades to once; cook and manty-maker, seamstress, teacher to us children, and tailor-ess to the three boys, beside pursuin' what I call the rag-bag professions,—the house maid-of-all-work duties of scrubbin', sweepin', dustin', and patchin', and darnin', and keepin' up all the odds and ends."

"And there was father—he was a stock-breeder—kept his horse and carriage, walked about the farm, read the papers, rited about the country to Horse Fairs and Cattle Shows, and took life so easy that he weighed over two hundred before he was fifty years old."

"That's the difference, an' I see it, an' I rebelled against it! It may be Fate, says I, but it does seem wonderful onfair distribution, a-puttin' the heft o' the burden onto the weaker creature. 'Twarh't the way father treated his cattle."

"Folks used to say 't Alviry was a dre'dful onfeelin' girl, but I did love mother, and it riled me awful to see things go on so. One day I blurted out something of the sort to mother. She was dre'dful shocked!"

"Why! Alviry Peters," says she; 'don't you love your father?' 'I 'spose I do!' says I, 'but I rather guess I love myself better 'n any man a-lyin', when it comes to that! I reckon I warn't gifted with a self-abnegatin' disposition, and taint no use to go against nater. I won't stand what most women do, any how! If 't warn't a misfortune originally to be born one, women, with their gentle and yieldin' ways, have made 't a regul ar curse to the sex; and men are that

ienoracin' that, give 'em an inch, they take the ell."

"I didn't say, 'look at pa!' for I didn't want to hurt 'her feelings, or to seem disrespectful; but I felt that her time was worth as much as his'n, and if any 'laborer is worthy of his hire,' the woman who is wife, mother, house-keeper, and hired help, all in one, ought to feel justified in any little extravagances, such as givin' to the poor, and lendin' to the Lord, without havin' to let her right hand and her husband know what her left hand's a-goin' to do,—for if she chooses to invest her money without interest, ain't it her own earnings?"

"When I come in here, Miss Tinker, I hadn't the remotest idee of givin' you my hist'ry, but somehow, seemin' you a-drivin' ahead so patient-like put me in mind of mother. Well, well, her days was a weariness and a burden, but thank the Lord, she's got payment in full, pressed down and runnin' over, for she's gone to her rest. Her grave, all green grass and blossomin' daisies, is the peace-fullest place I know of in the world. I set out a rose-bush at the head o' it, for she was particular fond of roses, and always had a bow-pot full on 'em, when they was in bloom, a-standin' on the hearth."

"When I go home to visit it now—and it's all I ever go home for—I think if I had married and gone through the life that most of the women I know live, that grave would hold a better promise for me than any sermon I ever heard preached on election. I believe God 'll forgive her for sufferin' herself to be so imposed on in this world. I used to fret, thinkin' that with all them wearin' cares, she'd no time for spiritual growth—but she cultivated a spiritual patience, worthy of a saint, and now she's in company 't she's fitted for."

"Father, he's got another wife. Such is life! She ain't mother's style, and she ain't afraid to ask for money, nor to spend it, either! You'd oughter see the silks, and the shawls that woman wears! If there's any economy in that establishment now-days, it's on the other side of the house, I guess. Father's kind o' gived up the Fairs an' Shows, and the business 't used to call him to Washington, of late. When he does go, though, she goes, too. I'm glad on't myself. He made her a public gift of all he had, and she's got the right to spend it if she sees fit! I ain't no ways put out that he married again, neither. If he don't miss mother, she don't miss him,—that's all!"

"But dear me! I must hurry home! I'd no idee of settin' so long! I'd ask you to drop in and see me, unceremonious-like, but taint no use! Women might as well live hermits, for all the time they get for social intercourse. Work and drudge, day in and day out,—that's Woman's Mission! Folks do a sight of talkin' and lecturin' about Woman's Work and Wages, but I condense the whole question into a nutshell, and the kernel on't don't pay for the crackin'; it's the more you do, the more you may do, and no pay and no thanks. It's your privilege and your duty? I've lived twenty years sence I first made up my mind that things was all wrong, and I hain't seen no occasion to change my views yet."

NINETEEN BLOCKHEADS.—Nineteen students of Iowa Wesleyan University have petitioned for the removal of a colored student from their class. Can the one be blacker outside than the nineteen are within?

# HORACE GREELY AND HIS NOTION OF WOMAN'S RIGHTS

BY JOHN KEAL

By an essay or lecture of Mr. Greeley's in the *Hearth and Home*, it appears that he entertains certain opinions with regard to Woman's Rights, and Woman Suffrage, and woman's doings; which it were well for those who think highly of him to understand.

He holds first, and there we agree with him, that the first man and the first woman were paired—each being the complement of the other, and each having a special field of action: So far, so good. But when, if ever, did a change take place, whereby the same field of action was so enlarged that each had something to do, which the first pair never dreamed of? When did the woman lose all her rights?—her rights to herself, to her children and to her earnings? Originally, she was man's co-partner—his "better half." Is it so now? and if not, why not?

Next, he maintains that the household is woman's "kingdom." If by this he means anything, it must be that there, in that household, woman must be supreme—that hers is not a divided empire, that she is to reign there, as man reigns elsewhere. Very well—be it so. And what follows? In the management of her household, the education of her children, and in the administration of her family affairs, her authority should be absolute, and unquestionable, just as much as her husband's authority is, outside of the household, in all business matters. But is it so? Is not man the subaltern? Will he bear "a brother near the throne," for a single moment, where a difference of opinion prevails?

"I believe, too," he says, "that when the time had arrived for establishing a government or state . . . whether generally, or by delegates," the women were left at home, "and this because of a mutual and general intuition that such was the divine order, dictated by the highest good of the entire human family."

Charming! but where's the proof? Though Mr. Greeley may believe this—a fact incapable of proof, supposing it to be a fact—others may believe the contrary. But suppose it were true—what then? Have men and women undergone a transformation? Have they interchanged characters, or aspirations? If not—what is the "general intuition," which prevailed at first? Have the women found out, after the experience of ages, that such "intuition" is unsafe? Or have they become what they were not in the beginning; for we find them bestirring themselves throughout Christendom for the recovery of their natural rights, and their equality with man.

In a word, must not Mr. Greeley give up the idea of a "general intuition," as the ground-work of all government excluding women; or acknowledge that women have changed characters, and, of course, that the precedent he relies upon is no longer binding upon them?

But, says he, under certain circumstances—as where a woman has "a bed-ridden husband or father"—she may go outside of her household for work. But suppose her husband a drunkard, or a spendthrift—a brute, or a fool—what then? May she not take in washing, or go out after chips, even at the risk of finding men in her way?

But he goes further, and says, "The promiscuous employment of men and women in shop or field has hitherto led to gross irregularities and



corruptions, and I do not believe the time is near at hand when such commingling may be confidently expected not to result in such lamentable consequences."

Here, everything depends upon what is to be understood by the use of two words, *promiscuous* and *confidentially*. Are churches and prayer-meetings *promiscuous*? Are the gatherings in lecture-rooms and concerts, theatres and factories, and printing-offices, or in academies, free schools and colleges, what he calls *promiscuous*? If they are, then the facts are all against him, and all our late experience in associated labor is the other way. Within a little time, it has been discovered that boys and girls, and men and women, are meant by God himself to live together—~~to~~ grow up together—and to labor together. Where men and women associate freely, and on equal terms, there both are free—the man strengthens the woman; the woman refines, purifies and humanizes the man. And so will boys and girls. A friend of ours, who has been romping with boys all her life, climbing trees, clearing fences and running races with them was sent to Mrs. Willard's celebrated school, at Troy. The very next day, she was startled by a cry from the young ladies in another room of "Heads out!—Heads out!" Upon further inquiry, it appeared that a boy was passing—*only a boy*—one of the harmless creatures she had been playing with all her life, as with so many Newfoundland puppies, or young bossies. We all know—do we not—that where women are excluded from the dinner table, men make brutes of themselves, if not blackguards; and that, if men are excluded, women grow frivolous, if not scandalous.

Can it be in this sense that Mr. G. uses the word "*promiscuous*?" If so—then facts are against him. And if in some other sense, what is it? Nobody asks for promiscuous intercourse or promiscuous associations between the sexes but the more enlightened, who desire not the emancipation of women only, but of men, that they may be allowed to work together, as they do on the stage, in our lecture-rooms, and schools and churches. If this be "*promiscuous*," then so much the better for both.

But Mr. Greeley "does not believe that the time is near at hand, when such commingling may be confidently expected not to result in such lamentable consequences." To say nothing of the awkward phraseology—the more unpardonable in a writer so remarkable for talking common sense in the plainest language, I ask, who cares whether it may be "*confidentially expected*" or not, if the facts are of common occurrence throughout the land? And if it could not be *confidentially expected*—if it could only be *hoped for*, would not such hope, of itself, be reason enough for laboring to bring about a "result" unattended by such "lamentable consequences?"

"As to teaching—one of the few pursuits wherein men and women may be properly associated," he says—"I deem it best that above the age of fifteen, girls should be instructed by women, boys by men." But women can only teach what they have learned; and if trades and professions—watch-making, printing, engraving, etc., etc.—could be opened to our daughters, the teaching must begin with men. Yet more—so far as my experience goes—and I have had fifteen years in the Sabbath-school, and I have a daughter who has had nearly as much—I say that I would much rather have women and girls in my class, than men and boys, while she prefers the latter—the "he-

criteries"—both believing it better for all parties.

But, as if to atone for all his earlier misgivings, Mr. Greeley says, under the 7th division of his lecture, that he "heartily wishes the women of our country, and of each State, would choose their wisest and their best to assemble as delegates, and memorialize Congress and their respective Legislatures for the removal of this wrong!"

Capital! The man is evidently with us after all, heart and soul; and why need we quarrel about non-essentials?

"I am confident," he adds, "that such delegates, fairly chosen by the general voice of the sex, would make no demand that I could not heartily second." Bravo!

But he goes further—much further, and it we do not mind our p's and q's, will be ahead of Mrs. Cady Stanton herself, and perhaps of Susan B. Anthony and the rest of our forlorn hope—for "I believe," says he, "that valuable suggestions might be expected from such a congregation of the gentler and purer." Bravo!—*bravissimo!*

In the very next breath, however, he gets frightened again—and all the fat is in the fire. "But from a Congress or Legislature," he says, "elected by men and women voting together." But why need they vote together? What should prevent their voting separately? And made up in good part of such women? Whose are they? name! name!—"as would naturally aspire to, and enjoy seats therein"—from which we may infer that, if women were elected, who did not naturally aspire to, nor enjoy seats therein—ignorant and helpless women, having no acquaintance with the object in view—Mr. Greeley would not withhold his co-operation—"and being closetted on committees with such men as they would meet therein, I pray to be delivered." And this—this!—is the bugbear that frights Mr. Greeley from his propriety; this, the lion in his path! a fear that such women as Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Burleigh, Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Lucy Stone, Rev. Olympia Brown, and fifty others I might name, will be closetted in committees with our statesmen and lawyers! To say nothing of the men, whatever they may be or not be, what must he think of the women? Are not men and women closetted together in every charitable scheme of the age?—in all our great religious undertakings? in getting up charities and fairs? And what harm has ever come of it? If such women are not safe in committee-rooms, with such men—all I have to say is, God help them both! Where would they be safe? The Turks have just these "notions" of women, and of Women's Rights—and the French are not much better. But we are another people..

But Mr. Greeley has another objection, weightier, perhaps, in his view, than all the rest. If Mr. and Mrs. Smith should happen to disagree about the Pennsylvania or Ohio election, he is afraid they might come to blows—*almost*—the husband being called "a brute," and the wife something worse. But how happens it now? Do they always agree about everything? about their neighbors and friends? their visitors and relations? May not their sectarian views differ a little sometimes, and even their religious views? Are not believers unequally yoked sometimes with unbelievers without scratching, or pulling hair? Did he ever hear of a divorce obtained, or even asked for, on such grounds? or ever on account of a difference in religious or political opinion? Why, then, are these

outrages, and misgivings, on account of political differences? Families are seldom of one mind about anything. The dearest friends fail to agree upon the most momentous questions. Would you disfranchise either party, for such a reason?

But courage! Mr. Greeley recovers himself at last. And I agree with him altogether and most heartily in all that he says about *useful labor*—and *useless labor*—and about the girl of the period, who is above being useful in any way, and who prides herself on her utter *uselessness* and *helplessness*—on being a toy and a substitute, a plaything and a lay-figure. And we may well forgive him for teaching that "no *useful work* is degrading," and for what follows—which, to say the least of it, is both wise and magnanimous. It runs thus:

"Woman is insisting that her share of the world's work be allotted and secured to her, and the demand, however unwisely urged, or mistakenly directed, is substantially just."

Thus much being acknowledged, all we ask of Mr. Greeley now is, that he, or somebody else for him, will be obliging enough to point a better way of obtaining what is "*substantially just*." Tell us, we beseech you, how to urge their pretensions more "*wisely*"—and how to direct our energies less *mistakenly*, and as in duty bound, we shall ever pray—etc., etc.

P. S. I had intended to call the attention of your readers to the late shameful outrage in Philadelphia upon the women students. While I think with the *World*, that some of the lectures ought never to be given to a *promiscuous* gathering of both sexes—*never!*—I hold that others might, with advantage to both, and that these young gentlemen—gentlemen forsooth!—deserve to be made women of till they know how to behave.

#### MORE MASCULINE REASONING—FROM THE PULPIT.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Please give the following a corner with the notes attached:

The Rev. Mark Trafton, in his lecture on "The Coming Woman," claims that woman should find open to her all those avenues, and only those avenues, for securing a living, into which it was safe and proper for her to enter alone. (1.) The coming woman, he said, will inquire, not so much "what can I do," as "what a modest respect for the fitness of things permits me to do." (2.) The coming woman, he added, will receive equal pay with man for any work which she does equally as well. (3.) To the question, "Will the coming woman vote?" he replied: "The Lord only knows. But ought she to vote?" Law is simply the basis of social order. It creates nothing, but only secures safety and peace. (4.) The tax woman is required to pay is simply an equivalent for the protection she receives from the law. No injustice is done her, therefore, by withholding the ballot. (5.) Mr. Trafton does not believe that if women engaged actively in politics, they could purify it.

#### NOTES TO THE FOREGOING.

(1.) Very well, to begin with.

(2.) All agree.

(3.) If the Rev. gentleman believes this, no wonder he cares little about Woman Suffrage. But if he can be persuaded to believe—and acknowledge, in the pulpit or elsewhere—that *sufragee regulates wages*, he will be driven forthwith to one of two convictions: either that he has hitherto wholly misunderstood the true question, and that there is no prospect, I do not say no *certainly*, but no *prospect* of woman ever receiving "equal pay with man for any work she does equally as well;" or that men are about undergoing a change of character, which will su



permeate legislation, and make the ballot worthless.

(4.) But—"law," he says, "is simply the basis of social order." Very well—and what then? Who made that law? and who established that basis? Was there ever a more barefaced begging of the question? Again, he says, "It—the law—creates nothing; but only secures safety and peace." If this were true, why should it not secure safety and peace for woman, as well as for man? But unhappily for him, it is not true—any more than it would be true to say that the builder of railroads, and bridges, and cities creates nothing—or the poet, or painter, or sculptor,—but only secures. The law creates partnerships, inheritances, associations, communities, with mercantile, social and family relationships and obligations—else why do they so differ among all nations?

But whether it creates, or does not create, what has that to do with Woman Suffrage? If it cannot create women voters, how can it create men-voters? And if its only function be to "secure peace and safety," all that women ask for themselves is that it shall secure theirs.

But, moreover, adds our profound logician, "The tax woman is required to pay is simply an equivalent for the protection she receives from the law."

If this be true of woman, it must be true of man; and the tax he is required to pay must be simply an equivalent for the justice he receives from the law! Preposterous! Under such doctrine, what becomes of representation as the co-equivalent of taxation? What of allegiance and protection as reciprocal duties? And why superadd the privilege of voting to man, while refusing it to woman? Is it a concession or a gratuity?—superfluous or not? If protection is the equivalent in one case, being paid for by the tax, why not in the other?

(5.) "No injustice," the gentleman adds, with the most amusing self-complacency—"no injustice is done her—therefore—by withholding the ballot." Another *petitio principii*. "Therefore," indeed! Does the Rev. gentleman understand the meaning of the word *therefore*? But enough—such nonsense ought never to pass unrebuked, though it be uttered from the lecture-room, or the pulpit.

J. N.

## NOTES FROM THE LECTURING FIELD.

BY MRS. L. D. BLAKE.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Some account of my adventures during my recent trip to Allegany Co., may not be uninteresting to your readers, at least as indicating the state of public feeling in that region. In compliance with an invitation received some time ago, I made my way to Wellsville on Friday, November 15th, accompanied by Mrs. Willard, the Vice-President of this County, who met me on my arrival in that region, and who had made all the arrangements for my personal comfort and public appearance. Indeed, I found great kindness from all with whom I had to deal. One gentleman printed the notices of my lecture and would receive no payment, and the owner of Broom Hall, where I spoke, made his terms as reasonable as possible, only having to pay for the lights and fire. The evening was very unfavorable as regarded the weather—a light drizzling rain falling continuously. Notwithstanding this, some of the very best people in the place made their way to the hall and listened with much careful attention as showed that they were at least in-

terested in the subject. Indeed, I received many compliments upon my effort to please them, and was cordially invited to remain over another day, and speak again in the evening. This, however, I was prevented from doing, partly by other engagements and partly by the perversity of the trains on the Erie Railroad, which could not be coaxed into running to suit my convenience.

On Saturday I went to Belmont where I was the guest of Dr. Wilkes Angel, in whose hospitable house I found a most delightful home. With this charming family I spent Sunday and Monday; on Monday evening speaking on Suffrage at the Court House. One would think that the clerk of the weather in that region must be a most violent opponent of Woman Suffrage, for all his forces were combined against the humble individual who had gone forth like a modern Peter the Hermit to preach this new crusade. Monday night was almost the stormiest I ever saw. Snow four inches thick lay on the ground, and fine snow driven before a fierce north west wind filled the air with icy particles. The Court House, too, stood on the top of a hill over which the wind had full sweep, and at intervals during my address the sound of the sleet dashing against the glass and the dismal howl of the storm were loud enough to seem like an attempt to drown the voice that was raised to plead the cause of woman.

Here again, however, I had a good and attentive audience, several persons coming from a considerable distance the other side the river to hear me, the whole board of Supervisors who met that week in the town was also present, listening to me with most kindly interest. I afterwards learned that they were almost to a man in favor of Woman Suffrage, and of course I like to think that my arguments had something to do with this state of conviction.

There were several plainly dressed men in the audience who seemed to me especially attentive, one in particular, whose earnest face I shall not soon forget, leaned forward in his intentness, scarcely seeming to change his position during the hour in which I was speaking. Many compliments were paid me on my effort and I was invited to repeat my lecture at several other points in the county. Home engagements, however, prevented a longer stay, and I turned my face eastward with many pleasant thoughts of the kind reception I had met with in this new field of labor.

## OUR DAUGHTERS.

BY PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS.

It is not needful at the present time to say anything for old maid; they are no longer at a discount. They can do any kind of business, enter professions, "sue and be sued," hold offices, if they can get them, can act as executors of wills, can administer upon estates of a father or brother, and this lawfully; but if they marry before such business is fully settled, then "such marriage shall act as an extinguishment of such office." In other words, the woman is no longer an individual before the law, but a "femme covert." Her husband cannot assume her duties in this business, but the Court of Probate may appoint him to the vacancy. He has swallowed her as truly as Zeus swallowed Metis; and it will not be strange if some of the same considered and prodigious progeny are the result.

But I am going to speak not of the independent, mature woman, formed an old maid, but of

a class on whom the customs of society bear hard—not the statute law, which subjugates woman, but the headship of fatherhood that holds daughters always in tutelage.

The grown-up daughters of the family are literally and truly paupers. I know it is a hard, disagreeable word to use, but the facts are ugly things to deal with, and it may perhaps as well be me as any one to write a chapter on daughters. Mine are young yet, and I will look after their interests in good time. Just now, all girls are a care to me.

I will suppose that I have a neighbor with sons and daughters—the sons grow up, and at suitable age, and well-educated, they are set up in business. They have, at least, a portion of what is to be theirs in the future. One daughter marries, has a generous outfit and a thousand or two to help the young people along. Two or three more remain at home doing the fringe work of housekeeping, the little odds and ends; trying to make life useful by a round of little charities and daily sacrifices. They have no separate allowance, at least none adequate to their position. Perhaps this father is liberal; he wants them at home to cheer his old age; to make life bright and warm, he is glad they do not marry, but they are forever children to him, and girls at that. Of course, they do not want their portion; they can have no desire for investing and increasing their property. He can take better care of it than they. With all his kindness he may have no just conception of their needs or natures, and he may, by his very narrowness, so embitter their lives that they will not mourn his death.

Suppose one or more of these daughters have gifts which, if allowed free scope, would give them a profession to fall back upon. Is it not as unjust to cramp them into this narrow home-life as it would have been to keep the brother with nothing but his "great expectations?" But says the father, "I mean to provide handsomely for you all." And so possibly he will, but in the meantime their powers are rusting out, their youth is slipping away, ambition dies, and the use of their property comes perhaps in time to save them from the old ladies' home, or dependence on a grudging brother or sister.

The hearts that might have made a home happy, that might have gathered in orphan children, are burned to ashes, and the life wastes away in hopeless repining, a fever of desires—and chills of disappointment. A home is a woman's first necessity; home cares, duties, hospitalities, and charities, these she can have without marriage; that may be superadded and make it as perfect as we ever have anything on earth. Let the home be first; marriage a secondary consideration, and we shall see less gilded misery. Girls, as soon as they are old enough to exercise judgment, should have their monthly allowance, and if they make mistakes or waste, let them bear the consequences.

Not long since, I was talking with a young lady who was lamenting her aimless life and her want of means to dress suitably. Why do you not try book-keeping? you are qualified for that and can get a good salary. "I have proposed it to Papa, time and again, but he will not consent to it." "I am an idle, good-for-nothing. My education is of no practical use to me." You surely keep your own accounts. "My accounts (with a sister which made me shudder), I never have more than twenty-five cents, just enough for my necessities, and if I am going anywhere, but nothing to give or to my independence. When

I ask money, father looks as though I was the most extravagant creature living. First, how much do you want, and what do you want it for? So with my heart in my mouth, I say, boots. "You wear out a great many, it seems to me." "Yes, papa, but—here I am out short, and he hands me three or five dollars, and so I have to get cheap boots, the very bane of my life. When I complain of this, mama says, 'Well, dear, it's your father's way, try and bear it patiently.'" And so she ekes out from her small means the necessities.

"You need not look incredulous; indeed, you need not—these beautiful furs came for Christmas; and these pearls, to wear to Mrs. S.'s party. But I had not then one unneeded pair of stockings in the world. Look at my gloves. I have to spend hours mending, and darning them, which ought to be given to other things." No one would dream we were scrimped, with our large house and fine appointments. Mama's tact and constant industry hide much of the want of harmony, but I can tell you there is friction enough behind the scenes." Probably the expenses of your establishment draw heavily upon your father, and he may have more to bear than you dream of. "Why, then, will he persist in living in such a great house and giving dinner parties to stupid people? There is no real social life in it. We all hate it. I have my ideal of a happy home."

Is not my little friend's story a true one? Wives endure, daughters marry, to try to better their lives, the glamour of courtship brightens the future; their lot is to be an exception to all others. Too late they find that the golden band was but the sign of their spiritual slavery, and that altogether wifehood swallows up their womanhood. Be women first, it will then do, girls, to talk of marriage.

#### CONNECTICUT COMING.

NEW HAVEN, NOV. 19, 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION: It may be interesting to your Connecticut readers to learn the state of public feeling in New Haven on the Woman question. I understand that at the recent convention in Hartford, Mrs. Hooker characterized this city as the "deadest of all places." When I heard of it, I thought her not far from correct. Since that time there have been some unmistakable signs of life. The "Dwight Street Union," a club composed of wealthy and influential citizens, has discussed the question, "Ought the elective franchise to be conferred upon women," four nights, and the question was each evening decided in the affirmative. At the close of the discussion on the fourth evening, the ladies, present, of whom there were a large number, were called upon to decide the question, and they did so, voting in a majority of two to one for the affirmative.

On Tuesday evening last, the question was discussed three hours in the Yale Law School. When the discussion was ended, all those who believed in Female Suffrage were called upon to signify it by vote, and after that those of a contrary belief. All but two signified their belief in woman's right to the ballot. One of the two, voted that he was not in favor of it; the other did not vote either way.

The question was proposed for the annual public debate in the City Hall, and was objected to, on the ground that such was the present state of popular feeling, that whoever espoused the affirmative would be sure to win.

Of course the decisions of debating societies in themselves are of no importance. Yet "straws show which way the wind blows." To me, the most gratifying circumstance of all, is that so many young men are defending woman's cause. Mr. H. J. Prudden of the "Union," and Mr. E. P. Arvine of the Law School, both young men of great promise, deserve especial credit for their zealous advocacy of the cause in New Haven. It is mainly owing to their efforts that young men of the city have become interested in the question.

J. J. K.

#### WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., NOV. 25th, 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION: The cause of woman is gaining ground in the Capital City. The past month, though a trying one on account of the disposition of certain disturbers of our weekly meetings, has proved our strength, and to-day we have the sympathy and good wishes of all order-loving citizens, and have by our earnestness of purpose and fidelity to principle secured the promise of fair and impartial reports of our meetings from the *Daily Chronicle*, the leading Republican paper of this city. Its editor, Hon. J. W. Forney, an acute statesman and distinguished politician, sees in the political horizon "the coming woman," and will hereafter deal sturdy blows against the barbarisms of customs which deny women equal rights with men in the choice of professions, or occupations, or in casting the ballot to determine who shall rule over us.

Yesterday was held the first of a series of meetings intended to aid the "Woman Movement" in this district. I send you the *Chronicle's* report, which appeared this morning:

"WOMAN'S MEETING."—A pleasant and intellectual company of ladies assembled at Union League Hall yesterday afternoon at 1½ o'clock. The meeting was organized by selecting a chairman and secretary. There were present a goodly number of strange faces who had been waiting for a convenient opportunity to identify themselves with the "woman movement," and to express sympathy with a cause which interests every woman in the land.

The Chairman, in a brief address, explained the object of the meeting, viz.: The elevation of woman; the liberty of the ballot; a fair share in the educational and labor movements of the day. It was desirable that the women of the District should become acquainted with each other and have a free interchange of views and harmony of action without being disturbed in their deliberations by persons not interested in the movement.

On motion, it was resolved to hold weekly "woman's meetings," to be called to order promptly on each Wednesday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Following this, in quick succession were seven ten-minute speeches from different ladies present, expressive of their views and opinions, with a little sparring in the best of spirits.

Several letters from gentlemen were received expressive of sympathy. The following resolution was proposed for discussion at the next meeting: "Resolved, That it is the duty of women to vote."

One of the ladies present presided at the piano and discoursed some excellent music.

An extract was read from Bishop Simpson favorable to women's voting, and an interesting poem in reply to the Rev. Mr. Hatfield, who does not favor the movement.

THE REVOLUTION and *Woman's Advocate* were recommended to the meeting as suitable reading; after which the meeting adjourned for one week.

The above is strangely in contrast with the sensational report of the *Daily Republican*, the organ of the opposition or rowdy element. The Proprietor of the *Republican* confesses to the falsity of its reports, but says he shall furnish such reading as long as the public demand it by purchasing two thousand more copies of his paper containing the manufactured proceedings.

The women have resolved to hold out, and will continue their public meetings every Saturday evening, and trust to the growing sentiment in their favor for relief from the annoyances which have of late been tolerated in order to find out with whom the strength of the opposition rested.

You shall be informed from week to week of our progress and prospects.

INDEX.

#### AMERICAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

AGREEABLY to call numerously signed, a Woman's Suffrage Convention was held on Wednesday and Thursday of last week in Cleveland, Ohio. At ten o'clock on Wednesday morning, Case Hall was filled, and the Convention was called to order by Lucy Stone, of New Jersey, who also read the Call under which the Convention assembled. The permanent organization was completed by the election of

Col. Higginson of Rhode Island, President; Mary F. Davis of New Jersey, and Myra Bradwell of Chicago, Secretaries; and the following Vice-Presidents: The Hon. Nathaniel Weiss of New Hampshire; Caroline Severance of Massachusetts; Anna C. Field of New York; the Rev. Antoinette B. Blackwell of New Jersey; John E. Wildman of Pennsylvania; Dr. J. Cameron of Delaware; the Rev. Charles H. Marshall of Indiana; Judge Bradwell of Illinois; Addie L. Ballou of Minnesota; Lilly Peckham of Wisconsin; Dr. L. H. Jones of Michigan; Mrs. Ritten of California; Ida Fiala of Mississippi; Capt. J. M. Cross of Iowa; Henry F. Campbell of Florida, and William M. Hudson of Cleveland.

Col. Higginson, in a neat speech, thanked the Convention for the distinction conferred on him, and gave a brief account of the state of the Suffrage cause in his State, and closed by saying he was glad to be able to say that the two Senators from his State of Rhode Island, Mr. Sprague and Mr. Anthony, agreed in favoring Woman Suffrage; but if they had agreed on anything else, he had never heard of it.

Judge Bradwell of Chicago moved that Miss Susan B. Anthony, whom he said he observed in the audience, be invited to take a seat on the platform. Mr. Higginson thought it unnecessary, as a general invitation had been extended to all desiring to thus identify themselves with the movement. Mr. Bradwell insisting, the resolution was put and carried. Miss Anthony walked to the stage and her appearance was greeted with much applause.

A long letter was read from Wm. Lloyd Garrison of Boston of which the following are extracts:

I would respectfully suggest that those who, for whatever reasons satisfactory to themselves, are not disposed to sanction such an organization, either by vote, or membership, will evince a just sense of the fitness of things by not enrolling themselves as members of the convention, nor taking any part in its proceedings. It is for the convention, however, to determine by what rules it will be governed, and how far discussion may be allowed as to the expediency of forming a society that shall be worthy of the cause, and hence deserving the confidence and support of the friends of impartial suffrage universally. Its organ, should it have one, will not mistake rashness for courage, folly for smartness, cunning for sagacity, badinage for wit, unscrupulousness for fidelity, extravagance for devotion, effrontery for heroism, luncy for genius, or an incongruous melange for a simple palatable dish. I have all my life held the opinion that women have the same right to the Suffrage as men; and it has been my good fortune to know many ladies very much satter to exercise it than the majority of the men of my acquaintance. The Suffrage is the turning point of women's cause; it alone will insure to them an equal hearing and fair play. With it, they cannot long be denied any just right, or excluded from any fair advantage; with

out it, their interests and feelings will always be a secondary consideration, and it will be thought of little consequence how much their sphere is circumscribed, or how many modes of using their faculties are denied to them.

The letter concluded, addresses were made by Rev. Phoebe Hamford of Massachusetts, Mary F. Davis and Lucy Stone of New Jersey, and Giles B. Stebbins of Michigan.

Lucy Stone said: Everywhere people are seeking a solution of the problem, "What shall we do with woman?" At the close of the war what did the people of the North say about the rebels? With almost unanimous voice they said: "Let them have universal suffrage and amnesty!" They who starved our boys in Southern prisons, who caused many a one of us to wear a widow's weeds, they are given the ballot. And what about the negroes? The Republican parties said with one voice that they carried the flag over many battle-fields, they shed their blood to save the life of the nation, and they must be given the right to vote! And why not, then, to those women who rose up by thousands and sent their sons and husbands to the field, and now they lie in neglected graves? Let petitions be circulated asking for a Sixteenth Amendment giving woman the right of Suffrage. I do not believe it is in the power of men to say no, when they know that we care for it so much. Stuart Mill, of England, who is a tower of strength to the cause of woman, once said that "woman is weak, but take away her child and she is strong and courageous as a lion." We will not forget the men who have stood by us since first we opened our lips. Their labors in the cause are part of the history of this great protest against the usurpation of the ages. I believe the time is not far distant when Ohio will no longer reckon women among idiots, lunatics and paupers. It is a common cause, for the welfare of men as well as women, and we rise or fall together. Friends in Ohio, make yours the banner State! Let her be the first to proclaim that every citizen, twenty-one years of age, irrespective of color or sex, has the inalienable right of Suffrage.

Miss Anthony next rose and asked whether she would be allowed to speak, not being a delegate to the Convention. The President permitting, Miss Anthony said:

She could not help coming forward at this time, as Lucy Stone, in stating that the object of every assemblage of this character was work, had struck the keynote of success. For herself, she was exclusively a worker, and anything on this subject that did not mean work had not perhaps as much of her sympathy as it should have, for we all ought to be thankful for good words as well as good works. She hoped that the work of this association, if one should be organized, would be to go in strong array up to the Capitol at Washington, and demand a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The question of the admission of women to the ballot would not then be left to the mass of voters in each State, but would be submitted by Congress to the several Legislatures of the States for ratification, and the question would then be decided by the most intelligent portion of the people. If the question is left to the vote of the rank and file, it will be put off for years. We must remember that by the Fifteenth Amendment millions of ignorant men, who know less than any other class of men on the face of the globe as regards the great principles of human rights, have to stand in judgment over us. She asked this Convention at this early stage, not only to pass resolutions in favor of appealing to the different State Legislatures, but to ask Congress to submit another amendment of the Constitution to these Legislatures.

So help me, Heaven! she continued, I care not what may come out of this Convention, so this great cause shall go forward to its grand consummation! And though this Convention, by its action, shall nullify the National Association of which I am a member, and though it shall tread its heel upon the Revolution, to carry on which I have struggled as never mortal woman or mortal man struggled for any cause which he or she advocated, though you here assembled declare that the one is null and void—a bogus and a sham, and that the other is unworthy of your patronage and should be ground into the dust—still, if you will do this work in Washington so that this amendment shall be proposed, and go with me to the several Legislatures and compel them to adopt it, I will thank God for this Convention as long as I have the breath of life. (Tremendous applause.)

At the second session of the Convention, a

Constitution for an American organization was submitted as follows:

## CONSTITUTION

OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

**PREAMBLE:** The undersigned friends of Woman Suffrage, assembled in delegate convention, in Cleveland, Ohio, November 24th and 25th, 1893, in response to a call widely signed and after a public notice duly given, believing that a truly representative national organization is needed for the orderly and efficient prosecution of the Woman Suffrage movement in America, which shall embody the deliberate action of the state and local organizations and shall carry with it their united weight, do hereby form the American Woman Suffrage Association.

### ARTICLE I.

**NAME:** This association shall be known as the American Woman Suffrage Association.

### ARTICLE II.

**OBJECT:** Its object shall be to concentrate the efforts of all the advocates of Woman Suffrage in the United States for national purposes only: viz:

**SECTION 1.** To form auxiliary state associations in every state where none such now exist, and to co-operate with those already existing, which shall declare themselves auxiliary before the first day of March next, the authority of the auxiliary societies being recognized in their respective localities, and their plans being promoted by every means in our power.

**SEC. 2.** To hold an annual meeting of delegates for the transaction of business and the election of officers for the ensuing year; also, one or more national conventions for the advocacy of Woman Suffrage.

**SEC. 3.** To publish tracts, documents and other printed matter for the supply of state and local societies and individuals at actual cost.

**SEC. 4.** To prepare and circulate petitions to state and territorial legislatures, to Congress, or to constitutional conventions in behalf of the legal and political equality of women; to employ lecturers and agents; and to take any measures the executive committee may think fit, to forward the objects of the association.

### ARTICLE III.

**ORGANIZATION:** SEC. 1. The officers of this association shall be a president, eight vice-presidents at large, chairman of the executive committee, foreign corresponding secretary, corresponding secretary, two recording secretaries and a treasurer, all of whom shall be *ex officio* members of the executive committee; also, one vice-president and one member of the executive committee from each state and territory and from the District of Columbia, as afterwards provided.

**SEC. 2.** Every president of an auxiliary state and territorial society shall be *ex officio* a vice-president of this association.

**SEC. 3.** Every chairman of the executive committee of an auxiliary state society shall be *ex officio* member of the executive committee of this association.

**SEC. 4.** In cases where no auxiliary state society exists, a suitable person may be selected by the annual meeting or by the executive committee as vice-president or member of the executive committee of said state to serve only until the organization of said state association.

**SEC. 5.** The executive committee may fill all vacancies that may occur prior to the next annual meeting.

**SEC. 6.** All officers shall be elected annually at an annual meeting of delegates, on the basis of congressional representation of the respective states and territories, except as above provided.

**SEC. 7.** No distinction on account of sex shall ever be made in the membership or in the selection of officers of this society.

**SEC. 8.** No money shall be paid by the treasurer, except under such restrictions as the executive committee may provide.

**SEC. 9.** Five members of the executive committee, when convened by the chairman, after fifteen days written notice previously mailed to each of its members, shall constitute a quorum. But no action thus taken shall be final, until such proceedings shall have been ratified in writing by at least fifteen members of the committee.

**SEC. 10.** The chairman shall convene a meeting whenever requested to do so by five members of the executive committee.

### ARTICLE IV.

The association shall have a branch office in every state and territory in connection with the office of the

auxiliary state society therein, and shall have a central office in subordination to the executive committee in each territory.

## ARTICLE V.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, by a vote of three-fifths of the delegates present therein.

## ADDITIONAL CLAUSES.

Any person may become a member of the American Woman's Suffrage Association by signing the constitution and by paying the sum of \$1 annually; or a life member by paying the sum of \$10, which shall entitle them to attend the business meetings of delegates and participate in their deliberations.

Honorary members may be appointed by the annual meeting, or by the executive committee in consideration of services rendered.

The Constitution was subsequently adopted, and the following board of officers was elected:

- President—Henry Ward Beecher.
- Vice-Presidents at Large—T. W. Higginson, Mary A. Livermore, William Lloyd Garrison, Mrs. W. T. Hamard George William Curtis, Celia M. Burleigh, George W. Julian, Margaret V. Longley.
- Chairman of Executive Committee—Lucy Stone.
- Foreign Corresponding Secretary—Julia Ward Howe.
- Corresponding Secretary—Myra Bradwell.
- Recording Secretaries—Henry B. Blackwell, Amanda Way.
- Treasurer—Frank R. Sanborn.
- Vice-Presidents—Maine, Rev. Amory Battles; New Hampshire, Arments S. White; Vermont, Hon. C. W. Willard; Massachusetts, Caroline M. Severance; Rhode Island, Rowland G. Hazard; Connecticut, Seth Rogers; New York, Oliver Johnson; New Jersey, Annettae Brown Blackwell; Pennsylvania, Robert Purvis; Delaware, Mrs. Hanson Robinson; Ohio, Mrs. Tracy Cutler Indiana, Lizzie M. Boynton; Illinois, Hon. C. B. Waite; Wisconsin, Rev. H. Eddy; Michigan, Moses Colt Tyler; Minnesota, Mrs. A. Knight; Kansas, Charles Robinson; Iowa, Amelia Bloomer; Missouri, Isaac H. Sturgeon; Tennessee, Hon. Guy W. Wines; Florida, Alfred Purdie; Oregon, Mrs. General Rufus Saxton; California, Rev. Charles G. Ames; Virginia, Hon. J. C. Underwood; Washington Territory, Hon. Rufus Leighton; Arizona, A. K. P. Sanford.

- Executive Committee—Maine, Mrs. Oliver Dennett; New Hampshire, Hon. Nathaniel White; Vermont, Mrs. James Hutchinson, Jr.; Massachusetts, Rev. Rowland Connor; Rhode Island, Elizabeth B. Chase; Connecticut, Rev. Olympia Brown; New York, Mrs. Theodore Tilton; New Jersey, Mary F. Davis; Pennsylvania, Mary Green; Delaware, Dr. John Cameron; Ohio, A. J. Boyer; Indiana, Rev. Charles Marshall; Illinois, Hon. J. B. Bradwell; Wisconsin, Lillie Peckham; Michigan, Lucinda H. Stone; Minnesota, Abby J. Spaulding; Kansas Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols; Iowa, Belle Mansfield; Missouri Mrs. Francis Minor; Tennessee, Rev. Charles J. Woodbury; Florida, Mrs. Dr. Hawkes; California, Mrs. Mary Ames, Virginia, Hon. A. M. Froze; District Columbia, Grace Greenwood.

During the subsequent proceedings of the Convention addresses were made by Mrs. Dr. Cutler of the Cleveland Medical College Faculty, Judge Bradwell, Lucy Stone, Mrs. Livermore, Henry B. Blackwell, Mrs. Celia Burleigh, Lillie Peckham, Mr. A. Bronson Alcott, Stephen S. Foster, Mrs. Cole of the Ohio Woman's Advocate, Mary F. Davis, Rev. Rowland Connor, Frank B. Sanborn, Caroline M. Severance, Mrs. Charles G. Ames of California, Miss Addie Ballou, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Rev. Dr. Marshall, Hon. J. P. Root, of Kansas, and many more.

Space does not permit any further notice today of the Convention, though letters from correspondents, and reports of several of the addresses delivered have been sent for publication.

**WOMEN AS SCHOOL COMMITTEES.**—Women mustn't vote, but may be voted for, the next best thing. Every week adds to the list of school committee women. Last week, Miss Lottie Hill was elected a member of the School Board of Palmer, Mass., in place of Mr. Gamaliel Collins, deceased.



# The Revolution.

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ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Editor.  
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NEW YORK, DECEMBER 2, 1869.

## TARIFF—"INTELLIGENT AUDIENCE."

AND NOW, ladies and gentlemen of both sexes, is there one among you, man, woman, or child, who has reached the age of fifty years, that has not felt the force of these truths thrilling through his soul for centuries, past, present and to come? And amid thundering cheers and hurrahs the sweating orator lurched into his seat.

The speech was on the Tariff; and numerous questions were heard among the "large and intelligent audience," as the speaker had, at least, twenty times called it, as to what the speech meant. On which side was he talking? Has the tariff two sides, anyhow? What is tariff? Is it a man, or a town? or is it something to drink? And more of the same profound import.

Nor was western oratory and intelligence in that case, and at that time, widely unlike what it is on the same subject at present. It is an old issue, traceable to the Congressional catascolds of fifty, if not sixty years ago. John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster lived long enough to be antagonists on both sides of it for years, and fought many a battle on its behalf. At first, Calhoun was its champion, with Webster for his chief opponent. But somehow one seemed to have converted the other. For Calhoun died with gasping maledictions on his tongue against it, while Mr. Webster, in his last days, never tired of dogologies, in long metre, to its praise. Reminding me of two men a western Pennsylvania clergyman once told me of in his neighborhood, one a rigid Roman Catholic, the other a most intrepid Protestant. Living several miles apart, when one visited the other, he staid all night. One night in a fearful dispute over the bones of their faiths, they sat up till morning. On his way homeward, next day, the one visiting reviewed and reflected upon the argument of his brother, and finally felt sure his brother must be right and he wrong. And being of honest heart, he set off the very next morning back to his brother, to make confession and to renounce a doctrine he felt sure was wrong, or at any rate, which he could not satisfactorily defend. Arriving at his brother's house again, he was told, to his much surprise, that his brother left home that morning to visit him; and, as appeared, in precisely the same state of mind in which he himself had so soon come back. For solitary, sober, cool reflection had wrought the same change in the minds of both.

It is not to be supposed that Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Webster were ever convinced by each other in any such way, though they did as diametrically change positions. When the North had adjusted her manufacturing policy to Mr. Calhoun's protective principles, as it did in a measure, then she was able to compete with the

South and rapidly to outrun her in the race of wealth and empire. At which the South took fright and anger, and endeavored to destroy that handy work of hers, a high tariff system. Then, of course, Mr. Webster, as the representative, or rather as the attorney, of New England and her manufacturers, became their champion. He and the Northern chiefs of the Whig party of that time pretended to exhort and to urge upon the South to become also a manufacturing people, knowing well enough that with only slaves for laborers, that was impossible; and that with so many slaves, indeed with only slave-laborers, white and more enlightened labor, such as was inevitable to profitable manufacturing, was equally impossible. And so while the North spun and wove southern cotton and made princely wealth out of it, the South sought to preserve her balance by increase of slave territory. Hence came wars with the Indians through our robbing them of their lands in Georgia and Florida; and a bloody butchery of Mexicans in our seizure and annexation of all their immense territory of Texas, shamefully dignified on our part, by the good name of Mexican War. For many years, the south carried most of her important measures in the government by threats of dissolving the Union. And in those years, Mr. Webster earned for himself, at the North, the sublime distinction and title, Saviour of the Union. And he and his worshippers demanded that he be made President therefor. Washington gave us a country in one war, Jackson defended it in another, and they were made Presidents; but the Salvation of our glorious Union was due to the peerless wisdom and statesmanship of Webster, and how much more should he also be rewarded with the most exalted honors in the gift of a grateful people! But the South had helped to play the trick from the beginning, and understood the game. And to Mr. Webster's very last sickness and death, she refused sternly and even doggedly to give him one single vote for the Presidency, even as a compliment!

The Tariff and the United States Bank were the stakes of the two great political parties for many years, and the present generation can hardly conceive of the intense devotion to their idols by the Whigs, or the detestation in which they were held by the other party. But the United States Bank long ago passed into history, indeed seems now almost faded into fable; and but for the war of rebellion, which became apology and argument for immense revenue to pay its frightful cost, the tariff, by this time, as a protective policy, would also be alcoved with the records of the past.

Forty years ago the people knew as little about tariff as they now care about it. With the Whig party in power and high tariff duties, or the Democratic party and modified rates, it was all the same to them, though their ears were stunned to deafness with spouting logic by their leaders for and against it. They knew that with industry, prudence and temperance, they prospered, no matter what party prevailed, for they were constantly proving it. Thirty years ago, New Hampshire was almost "totally depraved" by Democracy. She had it frightfully. Vermont was almost as desperately Whig, and has never yet been reduced or exalted (whichever it would be) to the Democratic embrace. Connecticut river separates the two States. At that time, week after week, I used to lecture on slavery in that valley, on both sides of the river, and in both States, night after night. Annexation of Texas, Indian and Mexican wars

to extend slavery, all at the behest of the South, as well as the inherent evil and guilt of the slave system, were largely my theme. Politicians of both parties would frequently come in and engage in discussions lasting sometimes till midnight. But I never found one that could so present either side of the tariff when that came up, as it often did, as to prevent me from utterly routing him, horse and foot, in the estimation of the audience, not on the superior merits of either the argument or the question itself, but by playing one State against the other, Whig and Democrat, on the practical question of the tariff as it affected them. Vermont Whig farmers always did thrive, and they owned it, under low democratic duties. And democratic industry and economy in New Hampshire were always alike rewarded, even though occasionally the Whig party did vault into supremacy and power. And though I often inquired, I never found a Whig and Democrat of the two States that would pay the ten-cent toll across the river to exchange property and residence of equal value, merely on account of a difference in the State politics.

The simple fact was, nineteen-twentieths of the legal voters, "intelligent audience" though they were, or were always called by their leaders, neither knew nor cared for any practical difference there might be in the two systems. It was not tariff nor free trade that blessed and rewarded their honest, patient, prudent toil, but the dews, the rain and the sun of the gentle heavens, the same yesterday, to-day and forever.

And it is just so still. What did President Grant know or care for tariff or free trade when he appointed A. T. Stewart to the Bureau of the Treasury? And yet, as readers will remember, he insisted that Stewart, steeped, parboiled in free trade philosophy, must be the man. What did the Senate care for the same question, when, almost instantly, they confirmed the appointment? What did Senate and President care, when they set about repealing, by resolution, the law that rendered Mr. Stewart ineligible to office? Or what did the Democrats care whether tariff or free trade measures prevailed, when they, against their own interest as free traders, lighted the candle and showed the blundering Senate the disabling law, and so defeated the appointment?

Or again, what did the President care for either policy, when, instead of his New York free trader, and first choice, Mr. Stewart, he selected a New England, a Massachusetts high protective tariff champion, radical of the radicals on the question, Mr. Boutwell? If he wanted a protective policy, why did he appoint Mr. Stewart? If free trade, why select Mr. Boutwell? The President's appointments on the one hand and his stolid silence about the policy either way on the other, prove that both sides are alike to him, only "let us have peace."

One other thing. The New York Tribune is crowded of late with a series of most voluminous articles, nobody knows when or where they are to end, in vindication of a protective tariff. Undoubtedly the argument is as able as the case admits. Mr. Greeley is not the man to write otherwise. An equal compliment is doubtless due to his honesty and patriotic purpose in the business. But the World, round the corner, the Evening Post, the Commercial Advertiser, the two latter, radical Republican journals, so called, are demolishing his defences in the popular estimation; and everywhere, almost,

South, West, and even in New England, the tariff tendencies are all downward, even in spite of national debt; and as soon as that debt is funded, or in any way brought under easy control and the public heart is at rest about it, the days of protective tariffs are numbered and will soon be finished.

One old argument to working men for protection was that keeping out foreign goods, by high duties on importations, would secure high prices to laborers at home. It did so, but starved the laborers abroad out of house and home and drove them in hungry, naked swarms to this country seeking work at any price. Then down went wages here of course. But the protectionists comforted themselves, or the people rather whom they had deceived, with the idea that we are a great country, needing population; we have room for millions on millions, so let them come. And they did come, but most of them became Democrats, and the triumph of the Whig party was short. It was soon gathered unto the grave of its fathers, the Federalists, to be seen no more.

If any man could galvanize the old bones of a protective tariff into life and action, in the sight of his "intelligent audience," Mr. Greeley is that man. But it is a dead issue and should be decently buried. Like the men and the party that begat it, it is dead. As a principle, a national, statesman-like policy, it never lived. It was a device, a trick based in cunning and selfishness, played by politicians to subserve party ends at home, though made also to reach abroad. But nature, as has been shown, has her revenge. Starve the English operative, by keeping the goods he makes out of the country by protection, and he hastens here to compete in the labor market, at any price that will keep him from starvation.

But though the protective policy is a dead, and soon to be a forgotten issue, the country still lives, and vital questions, mighty of meaning, are before it, which must be met. They will not be postponed. Suffrage waits adjustment on the basis of impartial justice and equality. Politicians were long blinded and bewildered about banks, tariffs, slavery, anti-slavery, internal improvements and nobody knows what. But the simple logic of events determines them, one after another, and the thundering rhetoric of war has disposed of slavery in a manner that shamed out of sight the wisdom and the cunning of men. And just as the war waited for emancipation to quench its fires and stanch its blood, so now reconstruction lingers and will linger, as God lives and reigns, until intelligent, impartial Suffrage is conceded with no odious and unrighteous distinctions on account of complexion, race or sex.

P. P.

### COLORPHOBIA.

It used to be said and believed that when slavery should be abolished, prejudice against color would disappear as the shadow departs when the tree is removed. But it was a sad mistake. The Freedman's Bureau may publish its semi-annual reports, "in 1800 octavo page volumes." Col. Forney may write his five column white washing letters, headed "Two days in Georgia," and publish them in his "two daily papers," in Philadelphia and Washington, Republican papers generally may doubt or deny the facts presented to careful and credible eye witnesses as to the actual condition of the colored people of the South, and sneer at an

blackguard the witness besides; but it will nevertheless be true that the condition of nineteen-twentieths of the colored population of the South is materially, mentally and morally as deplorable as it was in slavery, abating only the sale and separation of families. And that leaves an awful margin of misery still endured. And that unfortunate people have no more malignant, and certainly no more dangerous enemies in the South than thousands and thousands of their professed friends, republicans mostly, from the northern and western states. Even in Washington, scenes are of constant occurrence that are a disgrace and a scandal to the civilization of the age. Here is what a correspondent of the New York Times wrote from there last Thursday:

On Monday the daughter of Rev. Sella Martin was admitted to one of the schools on an admission ticket signed by Professor Vashon, a colored school trustee. As the girl and her mother, who accompanied her, the almost white, the teacher, Miss Noyes, admitted the pupil without hesitation. An hour afterwards she discovered that the new-comer had African blood. Miss Noyes, immediately sent for a trustee, who ordered the girl home, with instructions not to return until the full Board of Trustees had considered and determined the matter. This morning Mr. Martin himself appeared and demanded his daughter's admission to a seat. He says he is backed up by mayor Bowen, and intends to make this the issue on the question of mixed schools. The trustees will have a meeting to determine the matter. Miss Noyes, the teacher, is a Boston lady. She has no antipathy to the colored race, but, knowing the sentiment on this subject, she felt it her duty to inform the Board of all the facts. This Committee have, up to this time, failed to make a report, as also a similar Committee of the School Board. The members of the Councils do not appear very anxious to meet the issue, and a very great interest is taken in the matter by the whole community. The question will have to be met now, and will doubtless occasion much bitter feeling on both sides. Rev. Sella Martin is one of the ablest colored ministers here.

Mr. Martin himself is but slightly colored, and his wife, it is said, is almost white, and it was not until her daughter had been some time in school that the American eagle eye discovered that she was not white as alabaster. But then, into what a thundercloud of blackness and darkness did not that microscopic shade at once unroll, clouding all the skies. Away flew a messenger from the teacher ("a Boston lady!") for "a trustee," a white trustee this time, doubtless, for Professor Vashon was a trustee when he brought the child and entered her; and he, this white trustee, "ordered the girl home," with "instructions to stay there" till otherwise ordered.

What would have become of the poor child had she been unmistakably black? Her father is one of the most eloquent and talented preachers in America. He has been heard and admired as a preacher and platform speaker in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, and all the principal cities in Great Britain. His wife and the mother of his child is not only nearly white, but a lady in all that word should ever mean, and yet, in the republican capital of christian America, an outrage is perpetrated upon him and his household, that he could not and would not be permitted to suffer in any other civilized capital on the whole face of the earth. It is an insulting burlesque on the very name of government, autocratic, democratic or anything between, to talk of the condition of the vast majority of colored people in the South as in any degree tolerable, or even sufferable. The democratic party by its treatment of that poor people in the last half century, deserves to be dreaded and scorned by them and all their friends in earth or heaven. But its testimony to day, in regard to their actual condition, is

a thousand times more true and trustworthy than Freedman's Bureau reports, or any other republican authority, as time will surely show.

P. P.

### CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

SOME excellent gentlemen of this city, to wit, Isaac H. Bailey, Edwin L. Godkin and Charles Collins have undertaken a movement to urge upon Congress the need of a reform in the Civil Service by enactment of a bill looking to that object, introduced by Mr. Jenckes at the last session, or some other of similar intent. In a circular signed by these gentlemen it is said:

It will be seen that the effect of this measure (Mr. Jenckes's bill) would be to assimilate the civil service of the country to its military service, requiring evidence of competency before appointment, assuring continuance of office during good behavior, and stimulating efficiency with the prospect of promotion. Its result would speedily be to create an *esprit de corps* and a sentiment of honor, which experience has shown to be among the strongest securities for fidelity; while liability to dismissal for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or dishonesty, would insure the best exertions of every officer.

They farther say, and doubtless truly:

Members of Congress can hardly be expected to take action in the matter, unless energetically supported or rather impelled by their constituents at large. We therefore venture to hope that you will give to the enclosed address, not only such publicity as may be in your power but the benefit of such editorial comment as you may think likely to advance the good object it has in view.

We would also beg leave to suggest that you would promote the desired result by inviting signatures to the Address at your office, and thereafter forwarding it to the Member of Congress from your District.

Of the importance of the reform in question, THE REVOLUTION has long been painfully aware. Indeed its main business into the world at all, was to work out that very reform. It does not, however, believe petitioning Congress will ever effect it, because really, that is the very department of the government most needing it, and one cannot lift himself up by his waistbands, nor stand in a basket and raise himself by the bandles. Nor would it be reasonable to ask a Lazaretto of sick and crippled to become physicians and heal themselves. No, gentlemen, with all due respect to your good intentions and to yourselves personally, THE REVOLUTION must beg to suggest that the reform so much needed, is to come by introducing *Woman into equal, active participation* in all the affairs of the government. Wherever woman goes, reform is sure to follow. And always of the most desirable and needed description, too. Seek first the ballot for woman, and its righteousness, and be you sure that all other necessary things will be added thereto. That beautiful "*esprit de corps* and sentiment of honor" spoken of would signify nothing. The military service at the opening of the rebellion was found to be more demoralized, if possible, than the "Civil Service." Probably it is no better now. And besides, gentlemen, you yourselves say, "Congress can hardly be expected to take action in the matter, . . . unless impelled by their constituents." Your business, then, is rather with "their constituents;" to whom we propose to add the women on terms of equality with men. And then we will have some Congressmen and Congress women, too, who won't have to be teased by petitions to do so manifest a duty as to mend their own *minds* and *morals*, and the *minds* and *morals* of the other departments of the government. The minds, quite as much as the morals. That, probably, is just what the proposed "reform in the civil service means." Only that, and nothing more.

P. P.

## RELICTS OF SAVAGE BARBARISM.

DANIEL WEBSTER once said of a place in Massachusetts where slave manacles were forged for the South, "Let that spot be purified or let it cease to be of New England!" Who that reads the following from the Wilmington (De.) Commercial will not pronounce even a worse anathema on that (now that slavery is abolished) most loathsome plague spot in the Union?

Five men were whipped, and one placed in the pillory at New Castle on Saturday. Edward Smith, a young colored man, convicted on charge of having criminal intercourse with a child, was placed in the pillory from 10 to 11 o'clock a.m. About 100 little boys and girls from four years of age and upwards, and about 15 adult persons witnessed this exhibition. At 2 o'clock p.m. the gates of the prison-yard were thrown open, and the court having at this hour taken a recess, a large crowd of persons, in addition to the children before mentioned, gathered to witness the lashing of the prisoners. Andrew Chambers was the first prisoner brought out and firmly secured to the post. "He had been convicted of the larceny of some money from R. P. Hill, and, in addition to other punishments, was to receive twenty lashes. As the sheriff stepped forward to execute the sentence, we noticed that he had been provided with a new 'cat-o'-nine-tails,' which corresponded with the new pillory and post. The sheriff, after having measured off the distance and laid the 'tails' across the back of the prisoner, as if to give him warning where he might expect the blow, proceeded to execute the sentence of the court. Both sheriff and prisoner stood squarely up to the work, each apparently alike exhausted. The appropriate purple 'wells' were raised at almost every lash. The new whipping-post and new 'cat' had their first victim, but were not baptized in blood. George Jackson was the next prisoner, and was to receive twenty lashes for the larceny of a lot of rags from Jessup & Moore. The sheriff, either not being satisfied with his first effort with the new implements, or the dark, swarthy skin of the prisoner was not so thick as his fellow, we do not know which, but at the end of the infliction of the punishment we noticed oozing through a thickly raised 'welt' a single stream of blood, which trickled down over the person of the prisoner. Blood had now been drawn at the shrine of the new post, and it is now fully dedicated to the administration of the barbaric laws. James Gordon was the next victim, and received his twenty lashes very stoically, without blood being drawn. Joseph Derry was next brought out, and received his allowance of twenty lashes, at the end of which an abrasure of the skin was noticed, through which the blood was slowly oozing. The last was Edward Smith, who had been pilloried in the morning. He was to receive thirty lashes for his crime. He had a wild, haggard look, knowing that a severe punishment was in store for him; and although a very large proportion of the spectators present were averse to this mode of punishment, no sympathy for the prisoner could be seen even by look or gesture. The sheriff nerved himself for the task that was before him, and balanced well his weapon so as to make the blows effective. The victim writhed under the punishment, and appealed with pining looks and broken sentences to the sheriff for mercy, which were apparently answered with blows of greater increased force. Several persons in the crowd clapped their hands, and as ridge after ridge was raised on the man's back, cries of "give it to the son of a b—h," were heard. The thirty lashes were administered, and strange to say, that notwithstanding the force applied, owing to the thickness of the prisoner's skin, very little blood was drawn. There being no other victims for the post, the crowd dispersed and the gates of the prison closed.

## THE BUREAU SUFFRAGE MEETING.

The meeting last week was held again at Mr. Packard's rooms, and was not only well attended but unusually spirited and interesting. Mrs. Norton presented a series of resolutions, the first to the effect that, since all persons were compelled to support the government, it logically followed that all ought to have a share in the government, which was adopted, after remarks by Mrs. Blake. The second resolution was to the effect that:

Congress, being the naturalizing power, was the only body authorized to determine the question of the suffrage. A gentleman present claimed that the first resolution was modeled after the Declaration of Independence, and as our fathers had to fight for that, so his lady friends would have to fight for their rights. Mrs. Norton then said a few words in support of her resolution. She said she had often urged that an application be made to the Supreme Court to have it settled legally why citizens were refused the power to vote. Had the Court decided that they were no citizens then they would have been free from taxes and punishments for crimes. Mrs. Blake and Mrs. Wilbour joined in the discussion. The latter lady reminded the ladies that they were not going to decide the affairs of the nation by words. Mrs. Mallett, in support of the resolution, said they could have another war if the States objected to have the General government legislate for them. (The second resolution was adopted. Other resolutions offered by Mrs. Norton, relating to Finance, were laid on the table for future discussion.

Mrs. Wilbour then presented the case of the Philadelphia medical student outrages, and the perpetrators of them were most severely condemned by remarks and a resolution, after which the association adjourned for one week.

## RESTELLISM EXPOSED.

DR. CHARLOTTE LOZIER of 923 W. 34th street, in this city, was applied to last week by a man pretending to be from South Carolina, by name, Moran, as he also pretended, to procure an abortion on a very pretty young girl apparently about eighteen years old. The Dr. assured him that he had come to the wrong place for any such shameful, revolting, unnatural and unlawful purpose. She proffered to the young woman any assistance in her power to render, at the proper time, and cautioned and counseled her against the fearful act which she and her attendant (whom she called her cousin) proposed. The man becoming quite abusive, instead of appreciating and accepting the counsel in the spirit in which it was proffered, Dr. Lozier caused his arrest under the laws of New York for his inhuman proposition, and he was held to bail in a thousand dollars for appearance to court.

The World of last Sunday contained a most able and excellent letter from Dr. Lozier, in which she explains and most triumphantly vindicates her course in the very disagreeable position in which she was placed. It is certainly very gratifying, and must be particularly so to Dr. Lozier, to know that her conduct in the affair is so generally approved by the press and the better portion of the public sentiment, so far as yet expressed. The following are only extracts from extended articles in the New York World and Springfield Republican relating to it:

The laws of New York make the procuring of a miscarriage a misdemeanor, punishable by imprisonment for not less than three months, nor more than a year; they define the committing of an abortion resulting in the death of either child or mother to be manslaughter in the second degree. It was this latter crime that Dr. Lozier was asked to commit, and she insists that as the commission of crime is not one of the functions of the medical profession, a person who asks a physician to commit the crime of ante-natal infanticide can be no more considered his patient than one who asks him to poison his wife. Thus Dr. Lozier makes out her case, and seems to prove conclusively that neither law nor professional honor forbids physicians handing over to the police persons who apply to them to commit murder; but that law, professional honor, moral obligation,

and social duty all unite in compelling them to thus aid in the punishment of these attempts to procure the slaughter of the innocents. This being so, how does it happen that it has been left for this woman to be the first to perform this duty? The pulpit and the press for months, have been ringing with declamations against the frequency of the offences of ante-natal infanticide among the most respectable classes of American society. Has there been no cause for these accusations; or do physicians generally hold opinions of their duty in this matter wholly different from those entertained and acted on by Mrs. Lozier?

And the Springfield Republican says:

A woman physician at New York, Mrs. Dr. Charlotte I. Lozier, took the very unusual step, on Saturday, of having a man and a woman, who had applied to her to assist in procuring an abortion upon the latter, arrested and committed to jail for trial, under the New York statute, which has long been practically a dead letter, but which makes the bare solicitation or advising to commit this crime a state prison offence.

The woman, whose name is Caroline Fuller, first went alone to the office of Doctress Lozier, and on stating her purpose was kindly warned of the sin and danger of such a course, and allowed to depart. But the next day she returned with her paramour, Andrew Moran of Anderson Court House, S. C., and he boldly demanded that the operation should be performed offering to pay roundly and to shield Mrs. Lozier from any possible legal consequences, should there be a fatal termination. Upon this Mrs. Lozier promptly sent for a policeman, who arrested both Moran and Miss Fuller, though the latter was discharged when brought before the justice for examination. Moran is held for trial, having failed to bribe Mrs. Lozier not to appear against him by offering her \$1,000. Moran and Miss Fuller came all the way from South Carolina to have an abortion performed, and Moran's wife made a third in the party, though one would hardly suppose she would enjoy a trip to the metropolis under such circumstances. May we not hope that the action of Mrs. Lozier in this case is an earnest of what may be the more general practice of physicians if called upon to commit this crime, when women have got a firmer foothold and influence in the medical profession? Some bad women as well as bad men may possibly become doctors, who will do anything for money; but we are sure most women physicians will lend their influence and their aid to shield their sex from the foulest wrong committed against it. It will be a good thing for the community when more women like Mrs. Lozier belong to the profession.

## RECONSTRUCTION.

In the colored women of the South, THE REVOLUTION has a client! it does not propose to desert. Some of the most prominent Republican papers in the country, the New York Tribune and Mr. Forney's two daily papers, one in Philadelphia, the other in Washington, have lately had some most rose-colored articles on the present condition and prospects of the Southern States. Some of them have been called out by letters of mine, written while on a recent brief tour to and through some of the Atlantic southern States. My letters, though not flattering to republican pride, nor complimentary to the present condition of those States under republican rule, were yet just and true to all parties described, as time will show. But the Tribune and Mr. Forney both have correspondents at the South whose letters are precisely in the tone of mine, and the writers would speak out more plainly than they do, were the papers in question honest, or brave enough to print their letters.

For example, the Philadelphia Press has a Washington correspondent who wrote last Friday that three pupils left one of the city schools because Rev. Sella Martin's little daughter is permitted to attend—so white, too, is she that it was by accident that her color was discovered to be unlike the rest of the school; and farther, that quite a number of pupils in the other schools in the building left last night and



this morning, and it is the opinion that should it be finally decided that the girl shall remain as a pupil, and other colored children be admitted, two-thirds of the pupils will withdraw. Two-thirds is a large majority, and it shows whether even in Washington the truly colored people are not as heartily hated, even by Republicans, as they ever were in slavery by their old masters.

The Press has another correspondent in Richmond, who writes on the present tone of popular sentiment in that State. Though he attributes most of the bad feeling there to the southern people themselves, he does implicate the "carpet bagger," but which class so ever is most at fault, the colored people must suffer still the same. He says, it is all folly to shut our eyes to the fact that a deliberate, systematic effort is made over all the South, and in influential quarters, to keep alive in social circles the fires of sectional hate. . . . . The old miserable slang about "low Yankees" ought to be at once repudiated and despised. In their social life, our friends in the South should have something better to talk about than to vie one with the other in epithets levelled at "Yankees" . . . . . It is only on the foundation of loyal suffrage, built on the results of the war, that any safety for the future can be found for the South. Left to the passions of her leaders, and the folly of her heedless masses, what pen can paint the confusion and bloodshed which must have supervened on the heels of the war? Worse than all would have been the success of the traitorous policy of those northern men who, professing so much for that people, broke every pledge, falsified all faith with them, lured them into a political condition that provoked the war, from whose consequences they were pitifully helpless to protect them, and to whose insane post-war tactics they owe so much political misery. . . . . In a long, extended trip through the South last summer—ourselves a Conservative—at every step we were forced to combat the suicidal conduct that we are here condemning. Then, on all hands, they cursed and doubted General Grant, whom, however, after Governor Walker's election, they said was beginning to look better to them. But in almost every parlor the old secession songs were sung with rare gusto, and quite a popular refrain was pitched on to the funny song about the "Old Rebel" who had killed a tremendous number of Yankees, but who, instead of being penitent, winds up his music after this fashion:

But I ain't a-goin' to ask a pardon  
For what I did and am;  
And if I'm reconstructed,  
I hope I may be d—d!

And plenty more of the same sort.

Now, it does not require much close observation of human nature to determine what must inevitably be the condition of a vast majority of the poor colored people in such an atmosphere. For the northern Republicans, men and women, are generally, not always, as hard upon them as are the former claimants of them themselves. And the most miserable being in America to-day is the Southern colored woman; and apparently, too, the least considered or cared for.

P. P.

**WOMAN IN WAR.**—The Havana dispatches say that several ladies of Havana, who have been acting as a secret society for some time past, have gathered among themselves their most valuable jewels and sent them to this city to the charge of the patriotic and accomplished Cuban lady, Mrs. Emilia C. de Villaverde. The

jewels are to be raffled, and the money raised thereby will go to defray the expenses of arming and equipping a battalion of patriots named after the most costly of all the jewels sent—*La Orus*—a cross of twelve diamonds. In order to comply fully with this request of her sisters at Havana, Mrs. Villaverde has caused to be published a spirited appeal to the daughters of Spanish America. She is now engaged in constructing a handsome silk flag for the battalion, and, when everything will be ready, jewels and flags will be exhibited in some conspicuous place in Broadway.

**THE SOUTH.**—The New York Times on Monday morning gave as Southern news that "it is matter of record in Washington that Georgia is the worst State in the South, with which the revenue and law-offices have to deal," and that there is no hope of improvement until the State is remanded back, by Act of Congress, under military rule, and that this will be one of the first questions on which Congress will act. The Times also reports a split in the Republican party in Virginia, with the natural and necessary attendant calamity to party prospects and national peace. Kentucky too is in uproar, according to the same good authority, one riot resulting in three men killed, if no more, a hundred and fifty shots having been fired in the melee. The reports from South Carolina, Florida, Tennessee and Louisiana are certainly no better, but we must only tell of the already existing millennial benefits and blessings of Republican reconstruction.

P. P.

#### OLIVE LOGAN ON "GIRLS."

OLIVE LOGAN's lecture at Steinway Hall, Wednesday evening, Nov. 17, drew out the largest crowd that has been seen at a lecture here this season—much larger than Wendell Phillips's the night before, and more than three times as large as Kate Field's the previous week. In fact the Hall was packed, and that by an audience representing the very best, most cultivated, progressive and intelligent class of our people. Olive aroused their enthusiasm, too, in a way that did one's heart good. This noble-hearted young woman is a prize to our cause, and will do a world of good. Of course she has got to be let do her work in her own way, for she is an original genius, if ever there was one, and any attempt to cramp her efforts will be sure to fail.

All the daily papers spoke in warm praise of Olive's delightful talk, the *Tribune* uttering its noblest self in such words as these:

Out of abundant knowledge the mind utters itself with freedom and vigor. Miss Logan evinced that knowledge, and spoke in a charmingly familiar style, which yet was full of serious, womanly dignity. . . . . Miss Logan's descriptions are always bright, and her analysis of character is keen as steel. She sees character, moreover, in its relations to society; and where her sketches of persons suggest complete backwoods of social grouping. There was a great deal of thought in the lecture, and the influence of it will be, in the most practical sense, beneficial—for it teaches common sense to women, in her views and her conduct of life. Anecdotes—bright, humorous, and apposite—gave additional pungency to its frequent points. . . . . An amusing commentary on little girls forms the prelude to graphic sketches of the fashionable girl, the beautiful girl, the womanly girl, the Yankee girl, the Western girl, and the strong-minded girl. The fashionable girl who is devoted solely to dress, puzzles and vexes Miss Logan beyond measure; but the fashionable girl who has heart, and mind, and soul, and reaches out for something better than the follies and inanities of her daily life, is the hope of woman's cause. The beautiful girl is one whom sen-

sible men like just as they like strawberries and cream; but let her remember that this dainty dish can never compensate for the lack of the daily bread of virtue, industry, intelligence, and wisdom. The womanly girl, in Miss Logan's category, is one pictured by disconsolate man as the only hope of a dark and gloomy future, the one who shudders at the thought of Female Suffrage, and, by the simple trick of "shunning publicity," makes amends for unlimited ugliness and ill-temper. The Yankee girl is the one James Parson met in Washington street with the blue-spotted dress and roses on her cheeks, buying a *Gazette* of the World. The Western girl is nothing but the Yankee girl let loose on the prairie, and Miss Logan exulted in both these glorious types of American girlhood; but the strong-minded girl was her especial favorite. Sweet and true in private life, she is firm and self-reliant in public, and believes that the ballot in woman's hand will set right many things that are now wrong. Miss Logan concluded with a review of her recent raid upon the "lag drama," and, with an exhortation to girls to "champion the right," and,

"Still achieving still pursuing,  
Learn to labor and to wait."

Miss Logan having now achieved brilliant successes with her new lecture in the three leading cities of the country—New York, Boston and Philadelphia—can go on her way over the land for the remainder of the season with a serene and cheerful heart. Success go with her everywhere. It should not be forgotten that the lecture is to be repeated in Cooper Institute on the 13th of December, by particular request. s.

**SEX AND SURGERY.**—Under this head, the *Missouri Democrat* has an article on the recent Philadelphia outrages, which closes with the following capital ad captandum remarks:

When these doctors talk of the sexual impropriety of having female pupils present at dissections, or attending male patients, we begin to doubt whether there would not indeed be a sexual impropriety in having any such doctor attend a female patient. The man or the woman who is troubled, with "sexual" notions in the presence of torture and disease is not quite fit for that profession. The man or the woman who forgets a glorious science and remembers only sex, in the presence of a mangled body, is not the sort of man or woman to do much good in a sick room! We beg to know what necessity there is for eternally presuming that male physicians are unsexed from the beginning, or that female physicians would have to unsex themselves? It seems to us very plain that it is quite as proper for a sick woman to be attended by a female physician. There are cases, not a few, as any honest doctor can testify, in which female patients have suffered for months and sometimes incurred permanent injury, simply because of their natural reluctance to call for the aid of a male physician. We can see only one reason why there should not be male physicians for sick men, and female physicians for sick women—and that is that a good many men who are not good doctors would have to earn a living in some other way. We wonder if the Philadelphia people thought of that!

**A NEW WORK FOR WOMAN.**—The Boston *Traveller* says: "It is often the case when a person dies that there is much difficulty in finding any one of experience in such matters to 'lay out' the corpse. At the suggestion of undertakers and physicians, a woman of much experience gives notice that she will hold herself in readiness to perform that duty for the dead, in this city and surrounding towns. Her card is given among special notices in that paper."

**VERMONT.**—The Legislature of Vermont last week voted down a measure to give women the right to vote on schools and educational questions, by a vote 123 to 92. The objections urged were that it would be an attack on time-honored custom, and that they might as well let them vote on all questions equally with men, and done with it. So they might as well, and a good deal better.

**SOLOMON ROBINSON**, says the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the agricultural reporter of the *Tribune*, who has been down to Macon, Georgia, to attend the State Fair, epitomizes the local feeling as follows: "Horse-racing is the ruling sentiment of the masses, whiskey is more plentiful than food, and the American flag does not wave." He might have said the same of very many other localities.

**A DEMOCRATIC OPINION.**—The best thing, and all the Rochester *Union and Advertiser* can say of the recent Cleveland Convention is, that a convention of strong-minded women and weak-minded men, in session at Cleveland for several days past for the purpose of organizing a National Female Suffrage party, adjourned sine die, after electing the Most Rev. Henry Ward Beecher to the Presidency. It adds, the proceedings of these old ladies find no parallel since the mountain was in labor and brought forth a mouse.

**MRS. STANTON AT THE WEST.**—It will be gratifying to Mrs. Stanton's many friends to know that she is everywhere greeted at the West with overflowing houses, and that as a Lyceum lecturer she is to take rank with the very first. Her lecture to Young Girls is spoken of as one of the best performances of its kind that has ever been given to the public.

**JOSIAH H. PILLSBURY**, formerly of this city and a printer on the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, now Postmaster of Manhattan, Kansas, recently married Mrs. Emma Steele, of St. Louis, and Rev. Mrs. Danforth officiated at the wedding.

**CORRECTION.**—**DEAR REVOLUTION:** "The work goes bravely on!" That I sometimes write a very troublesome hand I acknowledge; and, therefore, as I do not see the proofs, I cannot wonder that your compositors, however correct in general, get misled by some of my pen-quirks.

This happens very rarely with you, and it is only now and then that I ask for a correction, much as I may sometimes need it.

On page 323, first column, six lines from the top, instead of "the lady is *unconcerned*, please say the lady is *unmarried*, which, in this case, makes all the difference, though in most others the phrase might be regarded as synonymous.

Just as in my borrowed newspaper joke, where I said of Chicago, *ten minutes allowed for divorces!* Your people—women, of course—printed it "Ten minutes for refreshments!" as if there really was no difference! I cannot much blame them, but they spoiled my argument, to say nothing of the joke.

Yours truly,

J. N.

#### WYOMING TERRITORY.

EXTRACT from a private letter dated Cheyenne, November 14th, 1869.

"Our legislature is far in advance of your eastern law-makers. A bill has recently passed the Council to give women the right of property separate from their husbands, to sell and be sold. Yesterday a bill was presented by the President of the Council to allow women to vote. From my conversation with the members of the Legislature I am inclined to the opinion that such will soon be the law of Wyoming."

**JOHN HECKER.**—Somebody "interviewed" him a short time since about woman, and the papers, in some places, published the report, supposing him to be the distinguished Father Hecker of the Roman Catholic Church. Two or three correspondents have favored us with replies to the non-Father's positions, mistaking the man. The truth is, his ideas were too stupid to notice, come from what source they might. But as John Hecker (though for anything I know of him except these notions of his on woman, may be a very respectable man) only represents himself, and is authority for no one else. And as his ideas cannot possibly do harm, there seems no need of expending space or time upon him.

"NATURE'S Divine Revelations," by Andrew Jackson Davis, has just been issued in two volumes, at Leipzig, having been translated into German by Herr G. C. Wittig of Breslau, under the patronage and especial supervision of a wealthy Russian gentleman and scholar, Herr Alexander Aksakof, of St. Petersburg. It has a valuable appendix of testimonials and other correspondence, by the distinguished Russian. The work is having a deserved and extensive circulation in Germany and Prussia.

**DIVORCE CASES.**—Middlesex county, Mass., has a hundred and sixty-nine divorce cases on its present docket, (court last week in session), and ninety-two relative to other subjects.

THE house of representatives of Washington Territory has elected Miss Elizabeth Peebles, a very successful teacher, formerly of Otsego Co., in this state, to the office of enrolling clerk.

**INDIANAPOLIS.**—A Suffrage Association, auxiliary to the Indiana State Woman Suffrage Association, was formed in that city last week with President—Mrs. S. L. Walker, Vice-President—Mrs. Dr. Thomas, Secretary—Mrs. McKay, Treasurer—Mrs. L. R. Putnam.

#### MRS. STANTON'S APPOINTMENTS.

Dixon, Ill., Dec. 23, H. E. Paine.  
Dabnque, Iowa, Dec., 3d, H. W. Kingham.  
Mt. Vernon, " " 6th, Wm. Galloway.  
Mt. Pleasant, " " 8th, W. J. Babb.  
Monmouth, Ill., " 9th, Currie L. Black.  
Peoria, " " 10th, E. S. Wilcox.  
Lincoln, " " 11th, Fred. Boyden.  
Danville, " " 13th, W. H. Sweetzer.  
Jacksonville, " " 14th, H. A. Turner.  
Decatur, " " 15th, O. F. McKin.  
Bloomington, " " 16th, E. M. Prince.  
Cincinnati " " 21st, Mrs. J. Carpenter.  
46 West 9th street.  
Buffalo, Jan. 14, Mrs. E. K. Baker.

#### CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY.

THIS excellent institution held its annual meeting last week at the Metropolitan bank. New York city has no more important ameliorating instrumentality than this. The officers are William A. Booth, Esq., President; John E. Williams, Treasurer, and Charles L. Brace, Secretary. The annual report shows that since the beginning of the year, 6,000 little ones have been taught, 11,000 hungry and homeless ones have been fed and lodged, and 1,900 have been sent to Western homes. The report farther shows that a vast amount more of the same good

work could and would be done, would the affluent and the prosperous but increase the resources of the Society's treasury, and a larger number of competent teachers volunteer their services in the school department.

**FACTS FOR THE LADIES.**—I can inform any one interested of *hundreds* of Wheeler & Wilson Machines of twelve years' wear that to-day are in better condition than one entirely new. I have often driven one of them at a speed of eleven hundred stitches a minute. I have repaired fifteen different kinds of Sewing-Machines and I have found yours to wear better than any other. With ten years' experience in Sewing-Machines of different kinds, yours has stood the most and severest test for durability and simplicity.

GEORGE L. CLARK.

Lyndenville, N. Y.

#### ALL ABOUT WOMEN.

On Sunday last a Mrs. Whittenmyer addressed a large audience in one of the Methodist churches of this city on the Relation of Woman to the Church.

After a few preliminary remarks concerning the great influx to our shores of infidel foreigners, and the consequent great apathy that prevailed among the masses, she said it seemed to her that if the people didn't come to the church, the church must go to the people. The Gospel must be carried to their houses, and who can do this work? Not the ministers of the gospel, for their daily duties already occupy their time and strength; nor yet the men of the church. They might, it is true, do more than they are doing, and carry their religion more into the daily business of life than they do, but the women of the church are the best qualified for the work of visiting and helping the poor. More than two-thirds of the entire church are women. It is but justice to conclude that they possess a fair share of the piety and intelligence of the church. If we may judge of the capabilities of woman from the ability she shows in the work of the world, by the influence she wields in evil, then we are forced to conclude that it is immense. She then glanced briefly at the worldly work of women.

A woman was not merely a leader of fashion, but a leader of public amusements. There are multitudes of men employed in the dirty work of the world, but there are women employed, too. One of the largest theatres in this country is run by a woman, I don't know as she will care to have me advertise her or not; but if you will walk up Arch street, (Philadelphia) any day, you will see upon a bulletin-board, "Arch street Theater, Mrs. John Wood." Perhaps it is the play of "The Forty Thieves," and the advertisements tell us there that the Forty Thieves are all women. In fact, more than one-half of the actors now upon the stage are women. She knew of more than one distillery that was run by a woman. Now we are not prepared to say that women have ability for evil only. There is lying dormant in the church, in the persons of her women, the very element of strength that could most successfully be employed and brought to bear against these strongholds of the adversary, if properly organized and directed by the Church. The speaker said that the great excuse of women was want of time and ability. She believed that women's first duty was at home, and woman might not feel herself called upon to labor in other fields until the home work is done, and done well. But some women spend months of time over a little piece of embroidery which will not wash and must not be handled. Want a sight for God to look down upon when immortal souls are going down to death all about her. She did not believe that women should spend their time in embroidering their garments, and in frizzing and braiding their hair, and then say that they have no time for Christ's work. The command of the Master is, Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable in the sight of God. She then spoke in strong terms of the time spent in dressing children and decking them out in feathers and fluff; or the suffering it caused the poor child, who tell, beside her, all the mortification and degradation of poverty. Persons who make the excuse of want have ability in everything else, and if they had the true love of God in their hearts, this difficulty would be overcome.

## Financial Department.

### INDEBTEDNESS OF TOWNS.

In the Concord (N. H.) Monitor, Mr. Samuel Flint of Lyme, in that state, has a communication on Town Debts, which, better than Almanacs, "will answer for any meridian" without alteration or variation. Mr. Flint is a sturdy practical farmer, well known in the Granite State, and never strikes a blow with pen, hammer, hoe, or axe, but in the right place, and with telling effect, as the letter below shows:

At the annual town meeting, the town treasurers report the town indebtedness. That is, they report the amount of notes, bonds, etc. outstanding against the several towns, amounting to ten, forty, or sixty thousand dollars, or as the case may be.

The people feel restless under it. They wish it out of the way. It seems like a burden, and it is. Yet the real amount of our debts is never reported. The "town debts," as they are called, make but a small portion of our real indebtedness. There are in addition, County, State, and National debts that the people in the several towns have got to pay.

I would like to lay before the working men of New Hampshire a few statistics in a manner so clear that they will read and understand them; for, I am sorry to say it, the great mass of the working men are better pleased with a novel than with a column of figures.

I said our town debts are never reported. For illustration, let us take the old farming town of Lyme, in Grafton County, which may be considered a fair representative of our farming towns generally. Our town debt has been reported "about thirty thousand dollars" ever since the war. Precisely what it is nobody seems to know, but we call it \$30,000. Grafton County owes \$100,000. Our share of this is \$5,000. The States owes \$3,000,000. Our share is \$16,000. Estimating the national debt at two and a half billions, our share of this is \$108,000, amounting in the whole to \$159,000! In this estimate the debts are divided in proportion to valuation. The whole valuation of the town in 1864 was in round numbers \$694,000, so that nearly one-fourth part of the taxable property in town is mortgaged to pay our public debts; and every farm worth four thousand dollars may be said to be mortgaged for one thousand.

To get something like a realizing sense of our debts, let us, in the same manner, estimate the debts of some of the principal towns in each county. The following table will show the amount of debt due against the several towns:

	Town.	Co.	State.	U. S.
Exeter,	\$68,000	1-14	\$37,000	\$350,000
Dover,	248,000	1-3	89,000	593,000
Sanbornion,	89,000	1-7	19,000	180,000
Wolfeborough,	89,000	1-7	16,000	113,000
Concord,	441,000	1-4	116,000	781,000
Manchester,	431,000	1-3	34,000	1,562,000
Keene,	89,000	1-5	62,000	423,000
Claremont,	96,000	1-4	48,000	327,000
Lebanon,	38,000	9,000	29,000	157,000
Lancaster,	59,000	1-6	13,000	94,000

I have no means at hand to ascertain the amount of the several county debts, and am unable to give the sum belonging to each town, except Lebanon; but have given the fractional part of the debts, whatever they may be, which should be added to the other sums to make the total sum for each town—thus, nearly one-third of the debt in Strafford County should be added to Dover; and a little more than one-third of

the debt in Hillsborough County to Manchester, and one-fourth of Merrimack County to Concord, and so of the other towns in other counties. We see, then, that the city of Manchester, instead of owing some \$431,000, as reported last March, really owed \$2,227,000 besides one-third of the county debt. Concord was in debt \$1,338,000 and one-fourth the amount of her county debt. These fractions are not exact, but near enough for a general estimate.

After looking at these sums, the working men will see the enormous load they are carrying. Even the little town of Ellsworth, with 300 inhabitants, so poor that they paid in 1864 but thirty-four cents on a thousand dollars of the State tax, has a debt of \$14,000, with a valuation of \$43,000! Nearly one-third of this town is under a mortgage!

And who pays the interest on these enormous debts? Who supports a ring of political gamblers in all departments of our government? The laboring men. There is a steady stream running from every working man's pocket to the pockets of the bondholders and public thieves. And there is no hope of relief from the leaders of either party. What, then, shall we do? Organize a working men's party. Reverse the whole financial policy of the government. Make greenbacks a legal tender for all debts. Talk of resuming specie payments! How can it be done so long as the government discredits its own paper? A man might as well attempt to make two acute angles by dropping a perpendicular upon a horizontal line. If these debts are ever paid, it will be done in the same currency we borrowed. In this way it could be done easily and without taxing the people. Will the government do it? No. Why? Because it is controlled by the bondholders, who see that it is for their interest to make money scarce. It is just as clearly for the interest of the working men who have got these debts to pay that money should be plenty; because, as is well known, it is easier paying debts with abundance of money.

And this talk about "resuming specie payments" is all a delusion. You can make a paper dollar equal in value to a gold dollar by making it answer all the purposes of gold in domestic commerce. It is not necessary that it should equal gold in foreign countries. Even our gold coin will not pass in England ounce for ounce on a par with English gold. Let the government make greenbacks a legal tender in all transactions between the citizen and government, as it does between men, and there would be no further demand for gold coin at home; and when you reduce the demand for a commodity, you reduce its value as compared with other things. Greenbacks would then certainly approximate more nearly to the value of gold; and if the demand for gold in foreign trade were not too great, greenbacks would soon be on a par with gold, even if the amount in circulation were doubled. Let the working men, then, who have these debts to pay, take the government into their own hands, and legislate for their interests instead of the bondholders.

S. P.

### GAMBLING AND SPECULATION.

WEST EAU CLAIRE, Wis., Nov. 21, 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION: The New York Herald correspondent quoted in your last, has certainly shown that speculation is not gambling. Whether, however, it be any better than gambling is still an open question. It is just

possible that the difference he has pointed out may be quite superficial; the resemblances fundamental. Putting his second point for convenience, first: Speculation is not gambling because in all legitimate trade, speculative or otherwise, a fair contract is made (i.e., a fair exchange is effected), a man pays the current price of what he buys, and that he proposes to sell it for more than he paid is nobody's business but his own. This is certainly a distinction with a difference. But it starts the previous question, why a fair exchange should be effected: what is the objection to gambling which outlaws all debts not conditioned on value received? And when we have answered this; it becomes clear that the speculator, like the gambler, is maneuvering to get by chance what he has not earned by industry. So far, therefore, and this is the important point, there is no difference between the operations. The Herald correspondent's other distinction is that "speculation always deals in property; gambling never. It is the rise or fall of property that makes the gain or loss of the speculator, and this rise or fall is, of necessity, subordinated to the great fundamental laws of political economy, to which all business, in all its phases, whether speculative or otherwise, is subordinated, the law of supply and demand." This is simply saying that all business is more or less speculative, being subordinated to the law of supply and demand and consequently governed by contingencies which only can be guessed. This is true; but is it right; and if not, what does it all prove? As shown above, we abhor gambling because it is not productive industry. But neither is it productive industry to create want for the purpose of supplying it. It is simple and ruinous gambling, and the Herald correspondent instead of exonerating the gold operators from this charge has simply shown us all to be partakers in their guilt. Perhaps we are so; nay, we are. It is true that so long as the "fundamental law of supply and demand" governs business, instead of the law of equal pay for equal work, so long what is not productive industry may be made to pay better than what is. But does not this, with the developing idea of justice in the people's minds, portend a revolution somewhere ahead?

Yours truly, C. L. JAMES.

### THE MONEY MARKET.

closed quiet on Saturday at 7 per cent. on call, with exceptions on Saturdays at 5 to 6 per cent. The discount market is comparatively dull, prime indorsed business paper ranging from 9 to 12 per cent., and single names from 12 to 24 per cent. The weekly bank statement is not so favorable and shows the weak conditions of the banks in legal tenders.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	Nov. 30.	Nov. 27.	Differences.
Loans,	\$263,068,008	\$252,678,474	Dec. \$389,534
Specie,	27,929,071	28,687,898	Inc. 1,758,825
Circulation,	34,231,922	34,155,838	Dec. 76,084
Deposits,	183,734,190	183,507,895	Dec. 226,295
Legal-tenders,	48,465,121	48,161,890	Dec. 273,231

### THE GOLD MARKET.

during the week ranged between 126½ and 129¾, closing dull on Saturday at the latter figure.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, Nov. 22,	126½	126½	126½	126½
Tuesday, 23,	126½	126½	126½	126½
Wednesday, 24,	126½	127½	126½	126½
Thursday, 25,	125½	126½	124½	124½
Friday, 26,	124½	124½	124½	124½
Saturday, 27,	126½	126½	124½	124½



## THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was quiet at the close of the week, prime bankers sixty days sterling bills being quoted 108½ to 109, and sight 109½ to 109½.

## THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

closed weak on Saturday in the Vanderbilt shares, but strong in the North West shares.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 26 to 27; W. F. & Co. Ex., 18 to —; American, M. U., 34½ to —; Adams, 57½ to 57½; United States 53 to 53½; Merch. Un., — to —; Quicksilver, 14 to 14½; Canon, — to 93½; Pacific Mail, 52½ to 53; West. Un. Tel., 36 to 35½; N. Y. Central, 174½ to 174½; Erie, 26 to 26½; Erie preferred, — to —; Hudson River, 156 to 155½; Harlem, 181 to —; Harlem preferred, — to —; Chicago & Alton, — to —; Chicago & Alton pref., — to —; Reading, 99½ to 99½; Toledo & Wabash 57 to —; Toledo & Wabash preferred, — to —; Mil. & St. Paul, 68½ to 68½; Mil. & St. Paul preferred, 63½ to 64; Fort Wayne, 87½ to 87½; Ohio & Miss., 26½ to 26½; Michigan Central, 120 to 120½; L. S. & M. So., 88½ to 89; Illinois Central, 129½ to 129½; Cleve. & Pitta., 63½ to —; Rock Island, 108 to 108½; N. Western, 78½ to 78; N. Western pref., 88½ to 88½; Mariposa, 7½ to 8½; Mariposa preferred, 16½ to 16½.

## UNITED STATES SECURITIES

closed heavy on Saturday in sympathy with the decline in gold.

Flak & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States currency sixes, 107½ to 107½; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 116½ to 117; United States sixes, 1881, coupon, 116½ to 117; United States five-twenties, registered, May and November, 111½ to 112; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1862, May and November, 111½ to 112½; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1864, May and November, 111½ to 112½; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1865, May and November, 112½ to 112½; United States five-twenties, registered, January and July, 114½ to 114½; United States five-twenties, 1885, coupon, January and July, 114½ to 114½; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1867, January and July, 114½ to 114½; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1868, January and July, 114½ to 114½; United States ten-forties, registered, 107½ to 107½; United States ten-forties, coupon, 107½ to 107½.

## THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$2,091,531 gold against \$5,009,133 (five days) \$1,952,478 and \$2,392,951 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$4,192,197 gold, against \$3,148,581, \$4,102,960, and \$4,428,433 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$4,088,188 in currency against \$3,890,927, \$4,001,110, and \$4,132,157 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$161,704 against \$172,074, \$123,221, and \$840,653 for the preceding weeks.

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